THE NARRATIVE DISCOURSE OF DEAF CHILDREN: A CONCEPT OF STORY

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Once upon a time I had an idea about writing a thesis. Since that time there have been many complicating actions, lots of evaluative comments, one or two dramatic episodes leading finally to a resolution. Finished.

Along the way I have had cause to be grateful to a large number of people. In particular I would like to express my sincere thanks to the following people.

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ABSTRACT

THE NARRATIVE DISCOURSE OF DEAF CHILDREN: A CONCEPT OF STORY

There is an increasing interest in the complex issues of how we describe and chart the development of the child's skills in text-making and narrative.

Observation of deaf children's language has tended to concentrate on their phonology. Various ways of measuring the syntactic structures at the phrase, clause and sentence level have been developed. From this 'bottom up' approach we have some knowledge of the deaf child's linguistic competence. We also have some knowledge about their communicative competence with familiar people in highly constructed situations. However, we do not know enough about what happens when a child is involved in a communicative episode such as storytelling, where they are trying to make sense in ways that are relatively autonomous without the scaffolding of adult clarification.

This thesis looks, for the first time, descriptively, at finding ways of describing and characterising deaf children's ability to organise text, using a combination of analytical and hermeneutic methodology, and to see how that implicates defective, inadequate or poorly developed narrative skills.

The narrative production and recall of 34 deaf children and 12 hearing children were recorded using a video recorder and camera and analysed for the presence of elements of Labov's model of narrative structure and for their coherence as indexed by their use of effective referent-introducing forms and recall protocols elicited in child-child interaction. The influence of medium and situation on narrative production was also studied.

Significant qualitative and quantitative differences were found in narratives across hearing loss and context. Children with more useful hearing being better able to organise the semantic content of their narratives linguistically. It is suggested that children whose preferred mode of communication is sign process narrative kinesically and visually and that caution is required in making assumptions about deaf children's narratives on the basis of spoken language only. This has important implications for future research.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is an investigation into the text-making abilities of deaf childen and their concept of story. The range of linguistic and social knowledge needed to produce and comprehend narrative structure seemed to preclude deaf children from an activity which is such an important part of the lives of ordinary children and adults. The study of narratives has been undertaken from a wide and increasing variety of disciplines. The one most closely associated with the narrative is literary theory (Jakobson, 1960) where concepts of interpretation and meaning in text have been at the base of much theoretical debate (Toolan, 1988). Narratives have also been analysed from a sociolinguistic perspective as being socially situated and important to the processes of socialisation and enculturation (Polanyi, 1979; Bennett, 1983; Labov, 1972). Further interest in narrative arose from studies in the processing and storing of complex information (van Dijk, 1977).

Narratives have provided more explicit and limited texts for analysis than other discourse genre such as conversation where interpretation relies on

more variable knowledge structures. Narratives may also be studied in a wide range of contexts including oral and written narratives (Tannen, 1984). The field of children's narratives can also be studied from a number of perspectives (Toolan, 1988) and is of increasing interest to psychologists and linguists because, as natural units of discourse, they seem to be inextricably linked to the cultural and social practices of child rearing and the child's linguistic development.

The acquisition and development of deaf children's language has been been the focus of research in a number of related disciplines. We, therefore, have some understanding of their abilities and weaknesses in the areas of syntax (Quigley, Smith and Wilbur, 1974; Quigley, Power, Montanelli and Steinkamp, 1976), in their reading (Webster, 1986; Jensema, 1975; Kretschmer, 1982), in their writing (Stuckless and Marks, 1966; Ivimey and Lachterman, 1980) and an increasing awareness of the linguistic implications of the interactive processes in home and school (Wood et al, 1986).

However, the text-making abilities of deaf children have been largely neglected. One possible reason for this, which I discuss in Chapter Three, is the enormous methodological problems of interpreting the discourse of the profoundly deaf child. Bruner

(1986) described narrative as dealing with the 'vicissitudes of human intentions'. The deaf child must use his impaired linguistic and communicative resources to express those intentions in modes for which we have only the beginnings of an adequate knowledge of its structure and nuances.

As children 'experiment' with language considerable tacit learning takes place as they create new forms and ways of expressing meaning. Similarly, as children share in the enjoyment of books and stories they become sensitive to and aware of narrative structure. They develop a sense of what a story is about and what is or is not acceptable within this framework called story. They also develop a concept of character and typical behaviour traits. For example, a wolf is going to be bad and witches ride on broomsticks. In this way they develop an intuitive sense of story.

As well as knowing what stories are about the child also develops an awareness of how a story must be told. It is a sequence of actions with a beginning, a middle and an end. The structure of the story takes on an importance for the child to the extent that improvisation by the adult story teller, or changes in sequence will rarely be tolerated by the child.

It has been argued that story form has a psychological reality, that the child's intuitive sense

of story is an internalised 'schema' and that it is therefore possible to define its structure and purpose just as one can describe the features of other kinds of discourse such as conversation. Indeed, there have been many attempts to do so. Many structural models, or 'story grammars' have been developed which seek to explain the episodic structure of simple stories. The usefulness of such models as an analytic tool in studying deaf children's narrative is discussed in Chapter 4. Experimental work with story grammars has been largely occupied with the comprehension and recall of stories rather than with text production.

Although there is as yet no generally agreed text grammar there has been ,nevertheless, over the past decade an increasing awareness of the text as a linguistic and semantic unit.

This study is intended to be an investigation into the text-making abilities of a group of deaf children in terms of their narrative production and comprehension. Throughout this study the term 'deaf' is used for all those children with a hearing loss. It is used merely for convenience and does not imply any particular degree of hearing loss. Neither does it imply that this group are in any way a homogeneous group.

It is also an exploration of method which may be used for future research in this area within the

classroom situation. I have, therefore, included a methodology chapter which includes some of the more difficult and, as yet, insuperable problems which are an inevitable consequence of analysing 'natural' communicative events. It is suggested that a combination of analytic and interpretive methods is more effective in developing an understanding of what deaf children are doing when they are telling or retelling stories.

In order to understand what deaf children bring to the task of narrative production and comprehension I felt the need to explain some of the theoretical background to the child's linguistic and communicative competence. In defining any particular aspect of the child's social, linguistic or cognitive development as a 'problem' a certain amount of caution is required. For example, the deaf child is often accused of being egocentric and aspects of their social and linguistic behaviour may reinforce that view.

However, if one considers that in adult-child interaction with deaf children we tend to focus on their experiences, usually very concrete ones located in the short term past. It is a problem of our own making. One could argue, moreover, that hearing people can not de-centre well enough to realise what the world is like from the deaf child's point of view and thus fail to appreciate what complex intellectual

performances go into what seems like egocentric performances. This is particularly relevant to the assumptions that might be made about deaf children's narrative recall and I return to this point later.

What these children bring to the task of narrative production and comprehension is, therefore, not only linguistically defined but also culturally defined within a particular social situation. It is not possible or desirable in this context to attempt to define the social situation. However, it is possible to categorise aspects of the situation which may give us insights into the child's narrative ability. The categories I found particularly useful in disciplining my own thoughts in this were those suggested by Halliday (1978). He categorised situations according to three macro dimensions of discourse: field, mode and tenor. Halliday suggested that given an adequate specification of the situation in terms of field, mode and tenor, it should be possible to make certain predictions about the linguistic properties of the text that is associated with each category, the semantic options that typically feature in this environment and hence the linguistic features which are the realisations of those semantic options.

The use of the term options indicates an important facet of Halliday's concept of narrative. He defined a text as a semantic unit and argued that text is about

meaning and about choice.

The whole idea of the child making choices based on linguistic resources and semantic intent suggested to me that this was entirely relevant to the study of the deaf child's narrative discourse. So that in looking at the narratives of deaf children I want to move the focus of study away from the analysis of the child's syntactic abilities to a much broader social and cultural analysis of text.

A major source of children's knowledge of story and narrative structure is the written prose model that is presented in books. However, books are not the only source of such knowledge nor, arguably, for some children the most important. Television has emerged as one the most influential media in presenting stories to children. This raises questions of how children respond to this predominantly visual medium and to what extent televised narratives differ in structure or ,perhaps more importantly in the way they are perceived.

In language based activities in schools other media are used to elicit oral and written language such as tape recordings, photographs and cartoon pictures. The influence of different media on narrative production is discussed in Chapter Five with reference to television, photographs and cartoon line drawings.

My analysis of narrative structure is based largely on the work of Labov (1972) in the field of

sociolinguistics and ethnography. The ethnograhic tradition which is firmly based within the discipline of anthropology has influenced the work of many researchers in other disciplines such as linguistics, psychology and education. In Chapter Four I consider the narrative structure of a group of deaf children from this perspective. One of the tenets of interpretive methodology and the ethnographic tradition is that the researcher should, in the first instance 'know' to some degree the phenomenon to be studied, secondly that the researcher must achieve the greatest possible familiarity with the phenomenon and must show the meaning of that phenomenon for his or her own situation. As a teacher of deaf children it seemed entirely appropriate, therefore, that the subjects of the study should be the children I teach, thus adopting the role of observer and participant.

The purpose of the study can, therefore, be defined in terms of this relationship as informing and hopefully developing my own practice in the classroom and in developing, in the field of the education of deaf children, what is, with hearing children, a very active research area.

The study is in itself developmental in that my understanding of the narrative processes of deaf children increased at each stage of the study and changed my perception of what 'the problem' is. This

new perception then informed the next stage of the study.

Despite the common ground in the ethnographic tradition, that I mentioned above, anthropology may appear to have only the most tenuous links with education of deaf children. However, it was in the work of Kenneth Liberman (1984) that I first discovered the possible relevance of the hermeneutic method to a study of deaf children's language. His study of the hermeneutics of intercultural communication was concerned with the problems that he saw in the intercommunication between anthroplogical field workers and their field informants. The topic is not of immediate interest to a teacher of the deaf but his analysis of the problems of understanding in such contexts and the descriptive categories he used to explain the activity such as 'gratuitous concurrence', 'strange silences' and repair sequences seem very familiar to a teacher of the deaf.

This problem of mutual understanding is examined in Chapter Six, in a number of contexts, in terms of the nature and adequacy of the message in a recall situation. Very little is known about the communicative competence of deaf children but observations of their spontaneous interactions with schoolfriends would suggest that, despite being largely unintelligible to the outsider, they are fluent and very animated. On the

basis of what we know of deaf children's language acquisition and development such fluent interaction presents a dilemma to the teacher of the deaf and to the researcher. It could possibly be an example of 'gratuitous concurrence' which is more to do with developing and maintaining friendship groups than communication in a narrow linguistic sense or it could be that the children's interactions are, linguistically speaking, qualitatively superior in that situation. It is not possible to make any decisive conclusions about this because we do not know enough about the nuances of child-child communication in deaf children. However, one can hypothesise that the interactions of deaf children are qualitatively different from hearing children.

Despite the enormous impact of deafness on these children's expressive and receptive language abilities I could not realistically assume that their apparent ease of communication with each other was merely a strategy for maintaining group solidarity. The mode and tenor of their intercommunication suggested to me that their non-verbal aspects of communication were an important factor and that this may also be relevant to any analysis of the children's narrative ability. I felt myself moving further away from what seemed to be the method of looking for some numerical summary which would enable me, for example, to compare children's

performance across context in order to say in which context their output was richer than another, towards a hermeneutic approach where I wanted to know why the children do what they do and produce the sorts of narratives that they produce, what influences the children are drawing on, what effect I am having in that situation and how they interpret the task. The move towards a narrower but pragmatically richer data base led me to a case study where I was able to do triangulation. This thesis, then, is a starting point in understanding what it is deaf children are doing in their text-making and the influences on their acquisition and development of narrative discourse.

CHAPTER TWO

LANGUAGE, CULTURE AND DEAFNESS

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CHAPTER TWO

LANGUAGE, CULTURE AND DEAFNESS

In recent years people have become increasingly interested in the complex issues of how we describe and chart the development of the child's skills in text making and narrative. This is, in part, due to a developing awareness of the importance of text as a unit of linguistic analysis. It also acknowledges the developmental nature of narrative play and narrative discourse for the child. Without such development through story, it is suggested that children would be trapped in "an endless interchange of stylized messages, a game with rigid rules, unrelieved by chance or humour" (Bateson, 1973). Through narrative children extend the boundaries of their world through the creation of other 'possible worlds' (Bruner, 1986) and give the child a 'way of taking' (Heath, 1982) from the world and organising the knowledge and experiences which inform his or her future social, emotional and intellectual development.

LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

As children learn to understand and make sense of the world around them and reflect upon it through the

uses of language, then any form of linguistic deprivation will inevitably lead to problems in assimilating the culture of the society. A sense of story serves as a cultural reference point in the development of what the child perceives as 'real'. Berger and Luckmann describe the understanding of language as "essential for any understanding of the reality of everyday life." (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). Although early language development does not appear to be easily affected by adverse physiological or environmental factors, profound sensory disorders over a long term will almost certainly create receptive and expressive language problems. Moreover, the effects of this sensory deprivation on language development are complicated by the disruption to the child's social, emotional and psychological development (Meadow, 1979; Quigley and Kretschmer, 1982). The deaf child's educational attainments and personal development will be influenced by all those factors which influence the development of hearing children. Factors such as social class, parental attitudes and awareness, gender, race and environment are as likely to affect the lives of deaf children as they are to affect hearing children and their families.

However, the enormous disruption of the sensory impairment adds an extra dimension to the problem which makes it possible to think in terms of a culture of

deafness. This culture is described by the child's access to knowledge and the ability to organise that knowledge in order to arrive at an understanding of how language can be used: to effect change in their immediate environment by getting things done, as part of a process whereby reality is created and maintained (Berger and Luckmann, 1966) and beyond reality to the world of imagination. The culture of the whole community, of which the deaf child is inevitably a part, is transfered from one generation to another through social and linguistic interaction between those who share in the social distribution of knowledge, or culture, and those who receive it. In the case of deaf children as 'receivers', no matter how distorted the input, they are inextricably linked to the dominant culture of the society and hence to the dominant language through the institutions of the family and education. Indeed, about 90 per cent of deaf children are born to hearing parents and many of these will attend mainstream schools for all or part of their school careers.

Consider the following extract:

> "If you have a work, then go to be pub, club or anything out. Meet a new girlfriend too long time go to married. If you not work, but no married because not enough money too hard

too long. Married very expensive."

Or this example on the subject of adoption:

> "If man and woman go to married but no children then they went to the children's home. The children home mean the children who not mother and father. She took one a children with my parents for every weekend...later time a man and woman take the children for home long time. The children go to social worker about look another new house or flat if nice or trouble."

Both these examples of written text from fifteen year old deaf persons are interesting on two levels. Firstly, on a purely linguistic level they illustrate some of the effects of a hearing impairment on the structure of the language. Secondly, they are a fascinating insight into those aspects of the "social stock of knowledge" (Berger and Luckmann, 1966) or culture that have become embedded within the 'knowledge' of the deaf person despite the massive disruption to communication caused by deafness. Which aspects of the culture are more readily embedded by the deaf child, and why, are points worthy of further research.

These deaf persons are clearly revealing in their

writing not only that they have assimilated experiences of the everyday social world but also that of events and social practices that are common and familiar and they are doing it in ways that are truly generative and not just producing pieces of 'baked' text. We must, therefore, accept that deaf children have some access to culture, that they do have some access to a generative linguistic system and that they use their intelligence to make what they are doing as meaningful and as accessible to other people as possible, often in conditions of incredible deprivation and difficulty. What is remarkable is the robustness of the child's desire and ability to communicate even in the face of what seems to be a devastating impairment as lack of hearing and the inevitable conclusion that there are many things that they do not understand.

Because of the importance of language in the child's construction of his or her world view a cycle is established of impaired hearing leading to impaired language development, leading to impaired access to the social distribution of knowledge, including access to knowledge about language and language use. It is my belief that the child's access to narrative and a sense of story are basic to this process. This view assumes that social interaction with others has a significant influence, not only on linguistic development but also on cognitive development. In an educational context it

has been described as " an increasing gap between what they know, think and feel on the one hand, and what they can express, negotiate and communicate about on the other" (Wood,Wood,Griffiths and Howarth, 1986). This growing gap is well illustrated in this extract from an interview with the parent of a deaf school leaver:

> "Alec simply hasn't got the necessary language..to put over what his requirement is."

In discussing a routine visit to the G.P. and the problems that this might create Alec's mother said:

> "He wouldn't know where to begin. Either his father or myself have to be with him to go in to explain to the doctor what is wrong with him, then come out to give Alec his privacy with the doctor and then go back in to explain to Alec what he must do."

In the context of the parent child relationship and in particular the role of language in the social relationships within the family, the mother explained that:

> "It's getting, oddly enough, more and more difficult because of the areas he wants to communicate with us in. His needs are wider

and deeper now as he gets older. There are more things that he doesn't understand, more problems that he is hitting on a day to day basis and far from getting closer together and getting better at it we're going in different directions."

DIFFERENT DIRECTIONS

Parental attitudes towards the child and particularly an awareness and acceptance of the child's problem are very important factors in the child's socialisation. For the family the birth of a deaf child, or rather the diagnosis of deafness may significantly alter the adult-child relationship to the point where it adversely affects the child's social and emotional development. This will particularly be so if the relationship so affected is the important mother-baby or mother-infant relationship. Diagnoses can be blunt and families ill prepared for the apparent 'loss' of their normal child. Parental response to the handicapped child is particularly relevant to this study of the child's narrative abilities. The importance of the interaction of the child with the adult in language development is based on Vygotsky's concept of the zone of proximal development. Moreover, much of the current work in the field of the storying

abilities of children is informed by Vygotsky's theories of cognitive development. From the interaction with significant others Vygotsky argues that what was an interpersonal process becomes an intrapersonal one and that what is learned through social interaction becomes knowledge. This social and cultural emphasis allows researchers to expect different levels of narrative development based on different experiences and different environments (Vygotsky, 1962). Feelings attitudes and responses which significantly affect the adult-child relationship may therefore subsequently affect the broader social and cultural develoments. These responses such as overprotection, grief, anger and feelings of inadequacy are discussed in much greater depth in a study of the development of the handicapped child (Newson and Hipgrave, 1982).

Cohen suggests that parents who fail to come to terms with their feelings may deny the existence of the handicap which then further disrupts the relationship between themselves and the child (Cohen, 1980). Common reactions will include a tendancy to overprotect the child, to do things for the child and to be more accepting of what, with other children, they might consider to be unacceptable behaviour. So the child's environment is restricted minimising the opportunities for social interaction and the development of social skills. Poor patterns of socialisation are consolidated

as the child brings a personal and often inappropriate analysis to the situation. In relation to this point one has to consider deaf parents of deaf children who may have very different feelings and responses to their deaf child and this in turn may affect the child's development in particular ways. Researchers have been interested in the deaf parent-deaf child dyad for just this reason. The main areas of enquiry have been in the development of communication (Snow and Ferguson, 1977; Gregory and Mogford, 1980; Meadow, 1968: Vernon and Koh, 1970) and intellectual performance (Sisco and Anderson, 1980). The broad conclusions of such studies are that deaf children of deaf parents perform significantly better than deaf children of hearing parents on measures of educational achievement, reading, writing and psychosocial development (Quigley and Kretschmer, 1982). There is, however, disagreement on the interpretation of these findings and explanations have been addressed in terms of the assumption that deaf parents are less likely to be traumatised by the birth of a deaf child and that this would encourage a healthy emotional background within which the development of language and communication could take place.

As we saw with the quote from Alec's mother above the problems are not confined to any one particular stage in the child's life. As the child matures he or

she will be seeking a self identity at the same time as becoming increasingly aware of being 'different'. Postive self images are seen to be important for mental health (Meadow, 1979).

Such problems are often further complicated by the lack of succesful deaf role models in the community, in the media and in literature. Conflicts may arise within the child about a sense of belonging to a deaf world or a hearing world. At this point deaf 'culture' gains another meaning. As well as the deaf child's differential access to social interaction and knowledge the issue of culture now takes a sociopolitical context which places the deaf person within a minority group status within society with all its implications in terms of its relationships to the dominant culture.

Children who fail to internalise the rules of family living may also fail to understand the conventions of social interaction in the wider society and seek refuge from a world which is full of contradictions and misunderstandings. The importance of play as a setting for narrative development must be acknowledged here. One study, which acknowledges Vygotsky's concept of play as "invented at the point when the child begins to experience unrealizable tendencies" (Vygotsky, 1962), stresses the point that the activities that parent and child share together

create "opportunities for establishing more specifically 'human' qualities such as the capacity for intentionality, the perception of agency and meaning, and the child's ability to interact on the basis of rules" (Urwin, 1983). These rules 'sensitize' the child to the rules of culture (Bruner et al, 1976).

LANGUAGE AND COGNITION

From this discussion of narrative as a way of organising experience and perception through language I now want to go on to consider some of the theories that have informed our understanding of the deaf child's cognitive and linguistic development.

Cognition has been described as " the various modes of knowing, perceiving, remembering, imagining, conceiving, judging and reasoning" (Nicollosi, Harryman and Kresheck, 1980). It is therefore very closely related to the child's use and perception of narrative. It is important for all those who work with deaf children to know whether in any of these areas there exists a qualitative or quantitative difference between deaf and hearing children. Our knowledge to date has been adequately summarised by Quigley and Kretschmer :

"Most researchers and most educators of deaf children presently accept that any differences that do exist in intellectual and cognitive functioning between

deaf and hearing persons are not significant for adequate functioning in society." (Quigley and Kretschmer, 1982).

They go on to suggest that any differences there are, are more likely to be the result of our lack of ability in enabling the deaf to make full use of their own abilities than any inherent deficiency in those abilities. Earlier in the century, however, a very different perspective influenced research into the psychology of deafness. The earliest studies, from about 1910, saw deaf people as significantly inferior in their cognitive abilities (Pintner and Reamer, 1920) and that these qualitative and quantitative differences were inherent in deafness (Pintner, 1933). The implicit conclusion of this perspective is that such differences were given and irremediable.

This view was dominant until the 1940's when it was challenged by the work of Myklebust. He saw the limitations imposed on language development by deafness as being the reason for conceptual differences (Myklebust, 1964). He proposed an "organismic shift hypothesis" to explain how the basic experiences of deaf people are altered as a direct consequence of deafness and that all subsequent behaviour patterns are also altered, making the deaf person different in many ways. By the late 1960's a new perspective was

emerging which argued against the idea of an inherent cognitive deficit and pursued a research methodology based on a Piagetian model of cognitve development (Piaget, 1955). It suggests that hearing and deaf people are cognitively similar (Rosenstein, 1960; Furth, 1966; Vernon, 1967). Moreover, Quigley and Paul said that "it is now generally accepted by researchers that any differences that do exist between deaf and hearing individuals on cognitive abilities are the result of environmental or task influences rather than being inherent in deafness" (Quigley and Paul, 1984). These task influences were categorised by Quigley and Kretschmer as: the inability of the researcher to properly convey the demands of the task because of language differences or deficits on the part of the subjects, implicit bias within the solution of the task, or general experiential deficits on the part of the subjects. This perspective, therefore, considers the only differences in the cognitive abilities of deaf people are to be found in developmental delay rather than irremediable deficit.

It is the relationship between language and cognition which has occupied the minds of many researchers into the deaf child's development. Theories in this field have on the whole identified with one of two positions :language dominant and cognitive dominant models. The language dominant or 'Whorfian hypothesis'

(Whorf, 1956) suggests that language governs the development of thought (Myklebust, 1948). The opposing view supported by Piaget is the cognitive dominant theory that language develops from thought and that language is then used to enhance the development of intellectual processes rather than being essential for their emergence.It is sufficient for the purposes of this study to say that the two are interdependent and that it is the inadequate language system which deprives the deaf child of the interaction with the total environment, which is necessary for access to experiences that contribute to cognitive growth. The importance of this idea for the education of deaf children is that differences in cognitive performance are remediable by exposure to the appropriate experiences and the appropriate language contingent upon those experiences. I will return to this idea in another context in Chapter Four when I consider how the child organises experience through narrative.

THE LANGUAGE OF DEAF CHILDREN

Teachers of the deaf will almost certainly be concerned with ideas about 'language' and with the practice of developing appropriate experiences that will optimise the child's language development. It is not possible or even necessarily desirable for me to

try to catalogue and evaluate all the multiplicity of theories from many different traditions and disciplines which seek to offer definitions for the word 'language'. It is even less possible to explore each of those different perspectives in relation to the subject of deafness. Whether one looks at it primarily as a problem of speech, a problem of language viewed as a system of syntactic rules, or a problem of language to do with the relatively effortless ability to negotiate and coordinate activities with other people, it is possible to say that in relation to all these areas deaf children have well documented problems. The primary problem is the interference with the establishment of easy and fluent communication between the child and the immediate figures in his or her environment. Because this fluent communication in humans depends upon a functioning auditory system, deafness will almost certainly disrupt that process. Meadow suggested that the basic deprivation of profound congenital deafness is not the deprivation of sound but the deprivation of language (Meadow, 1979). Most studies of the language acquisition of deaf children have concluded that it parallels that of hearing children although with a definite delay which gradually widens as the child grows older. Wide acceptance of the 'delay theory' within the established educational networks for teaching deaf children has led to the

development of many different strategies to improve it (Sanders, 1988).

The following passage illustrates some of the typical 'errors' of deaf children's spoken language:

> Girl found found found found dress / glove / girl two / have a look / shake brush / have a look dog / pretending dog / have a look / see / jump / play / frightened / frightened / dog / kill knife / dog dead.

It is typified by shorter 'sentences' and simple syntactic structures, an emphasis on the use of nouns and verbs and fewer adverbial clauses, auxiliary verbs and conjunctions. Interpretation of such a narrative is extremely difficult since the explicit information does not readily allow us to disambiguate the semantic content.

Analysis of written language also tends to show significant 'errors', such as the omission of words, particularly function words (Reed, 1986), which gives a telegraphic quality to the language, rigidly stereotypical forms and more use of determiners. It also tends towards the substitution of wrong words, addition of unecessary words and word order which does not follow normal English syntax. The following example illustrates some of these points:

> The eating they doy / house the doy playing /

going fighting and friend television the book are and the sleep / gun pretending the friend / the hurt is name up / house falling the up.

Many deaf children acquire syntactic structures peculiar to themselves. These simple and often 'deviant' constructions of deaf children (Kretschmer and Kretschmer, 1978) are sometimes referred to as 'deafisms'. There are several views regarding the origins of 'deafisms'. One view suggests that they have their origin in deaf syntax, that the chldren have some knowledge of the structure of sign language and that the syntactic errors represent intrusions from that language into a written English system.

Another view would suggest that 'deafisms' are complicated and that we do not know enough about the variety and multiplicity of stages that hearing children go through to be certain that they too do not hold similar hypotheses at some point.

When deaf children are asked to interpret complex sentences they tend to assume first that the sentence will follow a subject-verb-object pattern. For example the sentence ..The boy kicked the girl.. is interpreted as boy kicks girl. However, the sentence.. The girl was kicked by the boy.. is interpreted as 'girl kicks boy'.

Secondly, there is a minimum distance principle which would interpret ..The boy kicked the girl and ran

home.. as 'girl ran home'. Deaf children also tend to attach literal meanings to idiomatic phrases and figurative language which results in significant problems with abstract language material. Because of these problems it has been suggested that deaf children are also deficient in the semantic notions that underlie oral language. However, this is not generally the case since deaf children of deaf parents who use sign language as their first language seem to acquire similar semamtic relations as young hearing children (Kretschmer and Kretschmer, 1978). What the above analyses indicate is a focus on the linguistic elements of deaf children's language.

There are wider sociocultural implication in terms of what ethnographers would call a language community (Hymes, 1974) and the pragmatics of linguistic interaction with other deaf and hearing people, where problems of communicative competence and the 'rules' of sociolinguistic interaction arise.I am focussing on a problem whose theoretical and practical interests have been neglected and that is the narrative abilities of deaf children.

Within the last decade there has been considerable advance in our understanding and knowledge of many aspects of the linguistic problems and abilities of deaf children. These insights have been driven by the use of various theoretical perspectives such as

Chomskian theory and Piagetian theory which have had an impact on our image of deaf children, and our knowledge of their language development. Language has been defined as a "code whereby ideas about the world are represented through a conventional system of signals for communication" (Bloom and Lahey, 1978), or, more broadly, as a "system which symbolically represents an interelated set of well defined relationships. These relationships derive from the cognitive, social and personal experiences of the child. They are lingistically encoded (or decoded) in the speaker / hearer interaction and may be expressed through oral or manual language or in writing" (Blackwell et al, 1978).

The concept of a 'manual language' in the education of deaf children has been at the centre of a controversial and unending debate on communication methodology. It is not the intention of this study to examine the question of whether sign languages satisfy the criteria of a 'language'. However, sign language, or languages, since there are many varieties (Caccamise and Drury, 1976; Quigley and King, 1982), do meet the definition of a language as defined above. Moreover, the fact that all the deaf children in this study used some form of sign language, by choice, in their social and learning environments indicates that it is meeting some of their communication needs, with a certain degree of fluency.

In children with normal hearing the development of language is a process almost taken for granted. They do not learn the language and culture through formal education processes but casually and incidentally through exposure to them in home, school and community. It happens in, what has been described as, an apparently effortless interaction with a language model by means of a fluent and intelligible communication system. Certainly, if we look at basic syntactic structure work, as Crystal (1976) has done, as a measure then it is possible to say that, despite rates of differences in change, most normal children come to command the basic syntactic rule system of language. However, it is difficult to say what its end point may be and, moreover, whether all children get there. Labov observed that there are many stages in the learning of language which cannot be reached until much later in the child's life (Labov, 1970) but by the time the hearing child reaches school age his or her language skills have achieved a degree of sophistication.

Also, apart from this linguistic competence the child is developing communicative competence and an awareness of the importance of text. In a highly literate society practically all children start school with some knowledge about literacy (Farr, 1985). For the sake of clarity, and not from any strong theoretical bias, I take linguistic competence to refer

to those aspects of language such as phonology, speech intelligibility, lip-reading or sign reading and the morphonemic and syntactic elements of language. When, however, I am looking more at the functional uses of language I use the term communicative competence without prejudging at this point what the relationship between these two may be. It is an area of debate whether linguistic competence arises out of communicative competence (Romaine, 1984) or whether they are separate and children can have fully realised syntactic resources but just not have the skill to put them to work in any social situation.

The further we move in the direction of a communicative competence the more we become aware of individual differences associated with ethnic differences (Labov, Cohen, Robins, and Lewis,1968), social background (Bernstein,1973), sex role and gender (Hymes, 1974; Lakoff, 1973) and other sociolinguistic patterns. One approach to the education of deaf children that parallels the experiences of ethnic minority children and tries to include a sociocultural perspective to the acquisition of language is bilingualism.

The bilingual approach stresses the need to change the learning situation to fit the child rather than the reverse. The emphasis on language teaching and specifically English language teaching to deaf children

in situations where teacher control within the interaction may militate against effective language development could reinforce the child's sense of failure and isolation. The child's attempts at supporting his or her communicative intentions with sign language are sometimes given low status whereas spoken English is given a relatively high status. The lack of ability to develop fluency in the language of the dominant culture will almost certainly affect the deaf child's social interaction into adult life and is given to be one of the factors that accounts for the incidence of mental health problems in deaf adults (Schlesinger and Meadow, 1972). The bilingual aspects of deaf children's language acquisition have only been discussed within the last decade, particularly with the identification of 'the deaf' as a linguistic minority. There are, however, important demographic differences between the deaf and other linguistic minorities which makes it difficult to make comparisons.

The process of language development for any child is not a simple one to understand and the complexities created by a hearing impairment make an understanding of that process even more problematic. Because of this impairment deaf children depend on distorted speech patterns, lip patterns and any residual hearing to make sense of sounds and the implicit rules that govern the use of language. However, to the extent that we would

accept that the normally hearing child encounters language as a system that has an objective existence, as revealed in the creative use of language and the generativity of the way they talk, then we have to attribute some of the same competence to the deaf child. It has rules and patterns that are both coercive and yet flexible enough to enable the child to objectify continuous and varied experiences. In a discussion of the complexities of spoken language Ivimey described it as "replete with ambiguities" (Ivimey, 1977). Such ambiguities present the unsophisticated listener with the problem of maintaining effective communication. I return to this problem in Chapter Six.

Professionals and parents working with deaf children are constantly aware of the frustrations created by the ambiguities. In a paper on teaching linguistic structures to deaf children Huston talked about the doubt experienced by teachers of the deaf when considering what is to be taught and how it is to be taught (Huston, 1973).

The identification of deaf children as a discrete population in the education process has a long and international history, particularly after the eighteenth century, although the first formal educational instruction is attributed to Ponce de Leon (1520-1584) in Spain. The history is well documented

(Schmitt, 1966; Bender, 1960; Davis and Silverman, 1978). One of the most vivid impressions evoked by reading an historical survey of the education of deaf children is that, despite the considerable interest from several areas of scientific research, paticularly this century (Conrad, 1979; Quigley and Paul, 1984) the educational 'instruction' of deaf children seems remarkably resistant to change. Blackwell et al (1978) in developing a language curriculum for deaf children said:

> "It is important to recognise the many teachers who have been successful in the classroom and who have intuitively developed successful language teaching procedures. Many of these approaches, however, are often directly related to the personality or intuitions of these capable and successful teachers and, as such, have not been widely transferable to other classroom situations."

The educationalists response to the problems of the deaf child's language acquisition has been to emphasise the primary place of language 'teaching' in the curriculum. Many different models of language teaching have been developed, some of which are based entirely on the child's development of spoken English

and others using a variety of manual communication methods. The resulting disagreements over an appropriate methodology which I mentioned above has effectively diverted attention away from learning processes to the narrower argument of communication methods.Developing a language curriculum, of course, depends to a great extent on theories about how the language is acquired. Interest in this area is not retricted to linguists. Psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists and philosophers are some of the many and varied disciplines that see language as an important focus of study (Chomsky, 1968; Bernstein, 1974; Dittmar, 1976).

Chomsky, drawing upon Saussurian theory which separated speech and language as two discrete areas of interest for the linguist, made the distinction between linguistic competence and linguistic performance and his proposition that linguistic structures are innate served as a catalyst for this interdisciplinary interest in language development. As a result of this interest in language fron various disciplines theories of language have been grouped into several categories. Menyuk divided these into four groups: behavioural, biological, cognitive and sociocultural (Menyuk, 1977). Other researchers have made similar distinctions (Cruttenden, 1979; Slobin, 1979) but, according to Bloom and Lahey, three theoretical models have had the

most significant influence on research into language development: the generative transformational grammar, the semantic theories and various hybrids of the two which they describe as variation theory. The latter theory shares one of the main tenets of the sociocultural theory that the sentence is not the highest level of analysis and that it is necessary to look at language at the level of discourse where different sets of 'rules and patterns' apply (Halliday, 1975). Interest in the structure of language beyond the level of the sentence is not particularly new. Bartlett (1932), looked at the way adults used internalised sets of expectations or 'schema' about the characteristics of narrative to encode them in memory in order to be able to retrieve them later.

However, there has been something of an evolutionary change of emphasis from sentence structure (Chomsky, 1965; McNeill, 1966) to the relationship between structure and semantics (Bloom, 1970; Brown, 1973; Chafe, 1970) to the development of the functionally based grammars with their emphasis on the context in which language is used and the demands made by the communicative function of language (Nelson, 1973; Bruner, 1975).

The functional analyses of language have been concerned with two broad areas of research: single utterances within the context of conversational turn

taking between parents and children and analysis of text or, more specifically, the organisation of meaning across utterances.

The theoretical basis of this study lies within the sociocultural and ethnographic framework dealing as it does with a particular form of discourse, the narrative.There is very little known about deaf children's narrative. Researchers have tended to concentrate on their phonology, so that we have receptive tests of lipreading, tests of speech intelligibility, L.A.R.S.P. and Tests of Syntactic Abilities (Quigley et al, 1978). We have various ways of measuring the syntactic structures of the phrase, clause and sentence level and some insight into the pragmatics of discourse (Wood et al, 1986). Within the limited context of the classroom, deaf children are usually able to respond appropriately to different types of verbal utterances, whether they are two choice questions or 'wh' questions. The dynamics of how they operate within the classroom: how much they say, whether they ask questions, whether they elaborate etc. are related to the interlocutor style very much in the same way as hearing children.

So quite a lot is known about the 'bottom up' process and their deficiencies. We have some perhaps more optimistic insights into the communicative competence of deaf children with familiar people in

highly constructed situations. However, what we do not have, beyond the sentence level, is what happens when the child is involved in a communicative episode, whether they are telling a story or giving information, where they are trying to make sense in ways that are relatively autonomous without the constant scaffolding of adult clarification, that is, text-making.

Looking specifically at the narrative abilities of deaf children we do not know if it is impaired or whether they can do it very adequately with limited syntactic devices, or indeed whether there is any relationship between these different skills. This thesis is therefore an attempt to look, for the first time, descriptively, at finding ways of describing and characterising deaf children's ability to organise text and to see how that implicates defective or inadequate or poorly developed narrative skills and whether they find strategic ways around those problems. We may thereby develop a better understanding of how deaf children operate linguistically and get some insights into the interaction between syntactic functions and text making which will hopefully inform what is a very active area in child language study generally.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

CHAPTER THREE : CONTENTS

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education, not only deaf education, acknowledge a lack of 'communication' between educational research and classroom practice. The argument being that research which is not understandable and or relevant to classroom teachers and administrators fails to serve those educational functions for which it is designed.

Theorists like Guba (1978) ,Mishler (1979) and Carey (1980) argue that experimental enquiry emphasises hypothesis testing, control of variables, 'stripping' of contexts, reductionism and researcher detachment. They compare this approach with a more 'naturalistic' inquiry which is concerned with educational processes and hypothesis generation and relationships of context such as the effect of researcher and task on the language process and the observation of that process. What is involved here is an attitude about the purpose of research. The attitude described by the ethnographic approach is that any divergence between language theory and practice, between researcher and teacher, between language research activities and language instructional settings can be counter-productive.

As a teacher engaging in research, I was doing so from a professional concern about my practice as a teacher. I began with the assumption that it was possible to improve practice, and that this interest in practice is a concern about language and language learning. In another sense it is a concern that the

techniques and resources that I as a teacher bring to the classroom are based on some firm theoretical ground rather than on my own experience of previous practice and a feeling that not all language learning and teaching programmes and resources are equally effective.

I accepted Halliday's proposition that text is a semantic unit with two essential properties: meaning and choice (Halliday, 1978). Text, therefore represents not only what is said or signed but also what is 'meant'. What is said in any situation presupposes a background of what might have been said, or meant, but was not. These intentional choices imply a purpose which is to do with the intended meaning in a situation and the interpretation which may then be inferred from this interaction of choice, meaning and context.

Each of these aspects of the social process of narrative imposes methodological problems, particularly in the investigation of deaf children's narratives. These methodological problems are discussed in two parts. In the first part I want to consider the problem of interpretation and in the second part I want to discuss the context of situation.

THE HERMENEUTICS OF NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

Hermeneutics emphasises the importance of meaning, interpretation and communication. The paradigm for hermeneutics is the interpretation of a text, where the problem is understanding, in our own context, something which was produced in a very different context, in terms of the deaf child's linguistic and semantic choices and knowledge. A proper interpretation has to allow for what Gadamer (1975) described as the 'fusion of horizons' which is the interaction of the context of the performer of the narrative and that of the listener or interpreter.

Hans Georg Gadamer and Alfred Schutz informed the development of ethnomethodology through the work of Garfinkel (1967) and those ethnographers who were to develop their practice on ethnomethodological terms, particularly participant observation (Cheshire, 1982; Corsaro, 1981). The ethnographic method was developed by anthropologists as a means of understanding groups from different social and cultural backgrounds in which experimental methods play a much less significant role. It also informed the work of sociolinguists (Labov et al, 1968) and later made an impact on educational research (Heath, 1982; Adelman, 1981).

Ethnomethodology has penetrated psychology in an important way. The use of the scientific paradigm and the implication that behaviour is context-independant,

that there are rules of human activity which are fixed in the nervous system and inscrutable to the actors, has given way to the idea that even in an experiment one is involved in social practice where the subject is trying to make sense and is showing felicity towards the experimenter by trying to adopt the perspective that the experimenter wants them to.

The difficulty derives from the fact that people are self-interpreting beings who can learn from and change their interpretations and respond in novel ways thereby producing novel stimuli for subsequent actions (Sayer, 1984). While they are influenced by material circumstances, their actions do not stand in fixed relation to them, precisely because they are mediated by the ways of seeing available to them and these can vary enormously. In scientific enquiry where one is looking at the actions of human subjects the development of knowledge itself can change its own object.

This has transformed the whole concept of what an experiment is in psychology and into its place have come concepts like hermeneutics and the idea of psychology as an interpretive as well as an analytical science. This thesis has its basis in the interpretive methodology which Bruner in particular has identified as a legitimate branch of psychology with its own methodology. What is not clear is how the scientific

method of the psychologist and the interpretive method of the ethnographers relate in this new methodological direction. Bruner (1986) argues that there are two great traditions in Western thinking and in science; the narrative tradition and the analytical tradition. They are, he argues, two totally different ways of thinking about, or knowing, the world but that they interact and one draws on the other such that we should not asssume that everything is reducible to the syntactic.

His argument is that evaluating narrative requires different criteria from evaluating a syntax whether its in terms of logic, grammar or any formal system. One is dealing with two types of intellectual practice, neither is wrong and neither, on its own, is sufficient to have an understanding of human communication. Narrative, he argues, is to do with the constructipon of possible worlds. It is judged by its standards of humaneness, of interpretability, of emotion and emotional consistency, not by the canons of deductive truth.

These possible worlds are, Bruner suggests, created by 'actual minds'. He takes this to the level of looking at the difference in the grammatical and semantic organisation of scientific narratives, since science itself is a narrative form, and literary narratives to show that even at the lexical level and

at the modal verb level that true narrative is rich in modal verbs because they are about 'possible worlds', of what might be or could be. Science on the other hand deals with what 'is' or was.

This scenario then deals, on one level, with the poetic and the creative and, on the another level, with the scientific and the analytic. The possible world of narrative and the actual world of science and the interaction between them allow methodological insights into the details of the language forms used for these purposes of communication. The psychologist stands in the middle as the science of what human societies might be like and so it is mid way between scientific and narrative form. I am, therefore, presenting this thesis not as an incomplete version of a scientific enquiry into the text-making abilities of a group of deaf children but as a study which is both analytical and interpretive and firmly within a hermeneutic tradition.

The problematic nature of this hermeneutic activity is probably best demonstrated by this example of a spoken narrative from a boy with an average hearing loss in the better ear of 107dB.

"write / look / chair / see chair / head chair / help please / walking / see head / see who / books /

brown / walking / children right / fall over / remember / photo there / finished." (The / denotes a natural pause.)

This is in many ways the most difficult of the texts to analyse and in that sense it is not typical of the majority of the texts in this study but it illustrates the dynamic edge of communication where I can go no further without interpretation.

As the child's teacher I have to make sense of the narrative. It is a difficult but inescapeable process. So I set out to understand not only what it is that the child brings to the situation but also what I have brought to the situation in such a way that I feel able to construct some meaning out of what the child is doing. It is this process of meaning attribution and meaning creation in what is still a discourse situation, where I am asking the child to produce a narrative, which is the basis of this thesis.

If I consider how I might describe this narrative then I could say that this child's narrative is largely verb dominated and that there is some evidence of the beginnings of a verbal clause structure in 'see chair' and 'see head'. It is difficult to define a subject for this narrative on the basis of syntactic analysis or even to talk about nouns. In order to clearly define any lexical item as a noun I would need to identify the 'noun' in conjunction with other aspects of the

language system with which they naturally co-vary in normal language such as adjectives, quantifiers and determiners. It is probably reasonable to say that on the basis of this narrative we can describe the child linguistically in terms of an ability to generate simple verb phrases.

Within the narrative, however, are indications of reported speech in 'help please' and 'children right' with the first being more easily recoverable as such than the second. Even in the absence of framing devices to report the speech it nevertheless indicates that the child is attempting to broaden the focus of the narrative to include not only what happened but what was said. Without adequate framing devices, however, it is largely conjectural.

What we have is an affirmation, based on this example and a large psycholinguistic literature, of the fact that the presence of complete clause structures in the language of profoundly deaf children is rare. There is indeed a deficiency in clause structure and if there was not then the problem of interpretation may defined rather differently. The interpretation must try to perceive the world from the point of view of the child in such a way that it makes sense of what the child produces rather than merely looking at it as a deficiency in clause structure.

It is essentially a positive approach that looks

at the resources that the child brings to the situation and the ways in which the child is making intelligent use of those resources to fulfill what he or she perceives to be the demands of the situation.

In thinking about these resources, whether as researcher or teacher, I am drawn into hermeneutic enquiry. There is an impoverished surface structure and I am having to make assumptions and trying to discipline those assumptions about what the children are saying. It is a highly subjective process. The impact that a particular utterance makes on me is likely to be different from the input it makes on someone else for many reasons including shared histories.

As someone who spends a great deal of time with the children it is inevitable that I am more aware than someone who does not know them of, what Halliday (1978) described as, their 'meaning potential'. There are deep problems with this for which I still do not have adequate knowledge but there has been a gradual development throughout this thesis in my search for method. So from a largely quantitative method where I was looking for some numerical summary which would enable me to, for example, compare children's performances across context, to say in which context their output was better or richer than in another, I was moving towards an interpretive method. Through this

method I was thinking particularly about why they were producing the kinds of text that they did, what influences are they drawing on, what effect am I having, and how is the child interpreting my presence. Rather more important perhaps is the child's personal interpretation of what a narrative is. As well as the syntactic analysis, therefore, I am looking for insights at a higher level.

Starting from the numerical base I found myself involved in activities for which I could not metricate. They may or may not be metricable. It may be that I did not have enough data or that I did not pose the right questions but I note that others too have also shared these uncertainties (Stubbs, 1983; Agar, 1982). In the context of these uncertainties, moving away from a large numerical data base towards a pragmatically rich but narrower data base led me to a case study approach where I was able to do triangulation (Adelman, 1981). This involves giving ones interpretation back to the subject.

Adelman recorded classroom lessons and played them back to the children involved. The children were asked for their accounts and interpretations. These accounts were also recorded and played back to the teacher who then interpreted the child's comments thus comparing different perspectives. This method is supported by the work of C. Wright Mills (1940), Scott

and Lyman (1968), Harre and Secord (1972) and in the work of the ethnomethodologists. Triangulation can also refer to combining different kinds of data. Hymes (1962) suggested that it is meaningless to study language use, language functions and attitudes to language as though they were separate and that different methods were needed to study what is a complex area.

Labov (1972), ten years later, asserts that the value of new data for confirming and interpreting old data is related to differences in the methods used to gather it. In educational research, Willes (1980; 1981) suggests that observation and recording are not enough to investigate the child's communicative competence. She also used experimental methods to elicit dialogue. A more recent example of the combined use of analytical and ethnographic methods is Romaine's work on the acquisition of communicative competence (Romaine, 1984).

My own combination of syntactic analysis and interpretation is part of this tradition which has acknowledged that it is a distinct type of empirical research. Triangulation as a social practice is rather more problematic with deaf children. In asking deaf children for their own interpretation there are further problems which are to do with what the child considers

to be the nature of this activity and the task of asking children with severe communication problems to use language to comment on their own language. So it was not at all clear at first what the status of the child's response would be. Although this activity is largely intuitive there are, nevertheless, basic ground rules to be observed.

It is assumed that the interprter has knowledge of the phenomena that he or she wants to understand. It is further assumed that the interpretation should be maximally plausible and that the context in which any particular meaning is ascribed is acknowledged since I cannot know what the child may have said to someone else in another context.

What I cannot do with the narrative is to objectify it because the whole performance of the child is based upon the presupposition that there are certain levels of intersubjectivity. To ignore that fact is, arguably, to mischaracterise what the child is trying to do. Intersubjectivity is not avoidable because it is part of the assumed framework upon which this performance is predicated. I am not, therefore, arguing for the creation of a community of agreement where one could say that this is the objective meaning behind what the child is saying. There are as many stories in this text as there are people who read it precisely because the interpretation each reader puts on the text

is the result of hermeneutic activity ususally based on patterns of social knowledge and linguistic knowledge which are sufficiently robust for most of us most of the time to achieve sufficient provisional mutual understanding but in the example above that is not the case. The problem there is that many of the expectations about narrative content and structure are disrupted. In Gadamer's terms my 'assumption of perfect coherence' is violated leading to a breakdown in understanding. The nature of the breakdown will be a function of my expectations and the child's assumptions. A change in any aspect of this changes the nature of any breakdown that occurs. A definitive interpretation therefore does not exist and so the validity of any one interpretation, rests I believe in allowing the teacher or researcher a deeper understanding of the child's meaning potential, to look for what might be as well as what is. [For further background see:Harre,1979 1983;Shotter,1984;Potter and Wetherell,1987].

THE CONTEXT OF SITUATION

In collecting data the dynamics of social interaction and the research instruments employed impose restraints on the subjects of the research. Neglect of the importance of situation on language use can, it is argued, lead to inadequate analyses of what children are doing in any particular linguistic

activity (Cazden, 1970). Similarly, Bloom (1970) suggested that non-linguistic information from context and behaviour in relation to linguistic performance provides additional information which helps to clarify the semantics of children's sentences. In a paper concerned with theoretical and methodological issues in the study of context Erikson and Schultz (1977) suggested that contexts are not simply given in the physical setting but that they are constituted by what people are doing and where and when they are doing it.

Shared Knowledge:

One important contextual feature of the interaction between myself and the deaf child is the fact of implied shared knowledge. One way of illustrating this is along a continuum. At one end is the state of shared experience where 'I know' and 'you know' and at the other end is the situation whereby 'I know' but 'You do not know'. The former can be well known stories that we both have shared many times or the experience that we have both shared. The latter can be fictional narratives or personal experiences that 'you' have no knowledge about. In the middle are areas of shared knowledge embellished with personal experience.

On the basis of the child's understanding of this state of intersubjectivity he or she then has to create a performance which meets the implicit requirements

that differentiate these different states of shared knowledge. So 'I' can use a more intimate mode, more demonstratives and pronouns at one end of the continuum whereas 'I' have to use more adverbials to set the orientation, more nominals and added clause structures to say who is doing what to whom and where if 'I' know and 'You' do not.

This raises the uncertainty about the child's assumption about my state of knowledge. The child may assume, understandably, that I already know the content of the prompt materials and that this is yet another situation where the child is being asked by the teacher to discuss what I already know. The child will thus adopt an appropriate register having assessed the kind of situation they are dealing with. I adjusted to this situation by introducing an audience of the child's peers. What I could not forsee was not only the child's assumptions of all these different states of shared knowledge but also their assessments of the needs of individual listeners in terms of their degree of hearing loss and their preferred mode of communication.

Social Practice:

The fact that much of this research was done in schools imposes a set of constraints which are to do with the way teachers structure and control the discourse activities and opportunities in the classroom

(Wood, 1986). For example, teachers normally ask the questions and phrasal replies are usually perfectly appropriate to these questions. In the example of narrative above if one imagines each of the single words or phrases being predicated by an assumed question then it starts to look rather more coherent.

Teacher: What did the [girl] see?
Child: See chair.
Teacher: Where was the chair?
Child: Head chair.

Research by Wood has revealed that the child's characteristic experience with teachers in conversations or recounting experiences are highly scaffolded such that all the child is really doing is phrasal slot filling within a presupposed framework established by the teacher.

Discussing the linguistic experiences of young children, Bruner says that we play the part for them with whatever meagre component they can put in. We scaffold it into a coherent whole and that is a very productive aspect of the dialogue. However, it is based on the assumption that there is going to be a gradual easing off as the child becomes immersed in the process of becoming a true participant. Gradually the point is reached where they can even take control themselves of

asking questions and asking for elaborations. The problem lies with over-scaffolding which we tend to do naturally in intercultural settings (Liberman, 1984) and with people who have communication difficulties. It is particularly relevant, therefore, to teachers of deaf children.

This over-scaffolding has a short term expedient value. It is easier for the child and the difficult pregnant silences are avoided, although these are arguably necessary in the early stages if one is going to get away from the negative effects of this social practice. The long term effects are that one never gets a picture of what the child can do and that the performance constraints are already loaded along one end of the continuum where the teacher knows everything and is really the one who is controlling the situation.

It may be, therefore, that the competence exists within the child and we are not revealing it. In these circumstances it is relatively easy to confuse the contextual constraints of social practice with aspects of linguistic deprivation.

This example from a sociolinguistic study of the concept of linguistic deprivation (Labov et al, 1968) illustrates rather dramatically another situation where the teacher is asking the child questions to which he obviously has the answers

Teacher: Tell me everything you can about this.

[12 seconds silence]

What would you say it looks like?

[8 seconds silence]

Child: A space ship

Teacher: Hmmmm

[13 seconds silence]

Child: Like a je-et

[12 seconds silence]

Like a plane

[20 seconds silence]

Teacher: What colour is it?

Such a scenario seems all too familiar.

Topic:

The influence of topic and materials on narrative production is discussed more fully in Chapter Five. They have been recognised as important situational factors in collecting data on children's production of narrative (Cook-Gumperz and Green, 1984; Strandberg, 1969; Williams and Naremore, 1969). Strandberg found that four and five year old children talked more about a toy or a twenty second silent film about the toy than they did about a colour photograph of it. There were, however, no qualitative differences in the responses. Cowan et al (1967) presented children with ten coloured

pictures from magazine covers. The effect of individual pictures on the mean length of response was strong across all age, sex, socioeconomic class and experimenter conditions. From this they concluded that "the implicit assumption that magnitude of mean length of response is a property of the subject independant of his setting should be permanently discarded" (p.202).

Labov elicited narratives of television programmes and personal experience (Labov et al, 1968). He found that the main differences between the narratives was the absence of evaluative structures in the television narratives. The absence of these evaluative structures in accounts of vicarious experience reduces structural complexity.

The choice of the television narratives in this study was based on an interest in the fact that here were television programmes that had been produced for children with a hearing loss. The childen were used to television narratives being used in the classroom and I was aware that some topics were far more popular than others in terms of the subjective views of the children. As part of some preliminary work with the children on the importance of topic in developing the children's interest I chose what I assumed to be the least interesting television narrative, the party political broadcast. I was surprised to note that the children watched it to the end without protest.

I recorded their reactions to the programme on video. Half way through the programme I assumed that their attention to the screen was partly a result of my presence as teacher. I, therefore, left the room but kept the camera running. There was at last some movement from the children, and talking, until one of them noticed the camera was still working. He told the others and they returned their attention immediately to the screen.

Observers Paradox:

Inadvertently I had 'discovered' another situational constraint which has been described as the 'Observer's Paradox'. This refers to the effect of the researcher on the phenmomenon being investigated. It has been described as a fundamental problem for researchers in the social and natural sciences. Its effect is particularly acute in those linguistic studies where the researcher is trying to study language in 'naturalistic' settings (Romaine, 1984 p.20). Labov has made a major methodological contribution to devising ways of overcoming it (Labov, 1972). He suggests that in order to obtain the data which will be of most use to linguistic theory there is a need to see how people speak when they are not being observed. The paradox is of course that one cannot have observations without an observer.

I discussed above the issue of teacher control which has consequences for how children behave and respond in any particular learning situation. This is evident in everyday teacher-child communication and not merely in 'experimental' situations. We are all observed all the time in our communications with other people and change our behaviour patterns and register accordingly. In this sense there is no such thing as 'natural' speech in any absolute sense and all language changes to be appropriate to the situation (Wolfson, 1976).

In the example above, in my absence the camera became 'the observer' and that affected the children's behaviour but in terms of the social practice in schools it could not entirely be defined as an 'unnatural' setting. Problems in the interpretation of data may arise if conclusions about the child's linguistic competence are based on only one particular social situation (Tizard and Hughes, 1984).

Problems related to task:

One of the most difficult methodological problems I faced was entirely self inflicted. It was the problem of the tasks that were presented to the children at each stage of this study. Task related anomolies have been recorded in previous research (Brent and Katz, 1967; Lawton, 1968; Williams and Naremire, 1969). For

example, Brent and Katz asked white 'Head Start' children to tell stories about pictures from the WISC (Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children) picture arrangemaent task. They then removed the pictures and asked the children to tell the stories again. They found that the stories told without the pictures were longer and the ideas were related more explicitly. On the basis of this they suggested that:

"the actual presence of the pictures, which constitute a spatially distributed series of perceptuallly discrete events, may in fact, interefere with our younger subject's ability to form a temporally distributed and logically continuous story - a task which required a conceptual and linguistic 'bridging the gap' between discrete frames"(pp4-5).

Having the pictures present in the first telling of the story could still have significantly influenced a second telling without them however even though they were not physically present.

I, too, found it difficult to make assumptions about the relationships between the children's narratives and the materials used to elicit those narratives. For example, in one task I was asking the children to tell me ' a story' using three different media: television, photographs and line drawing cartoons. There are many more factors involved here, however, than merely one of medium which involve all

the elements of this chapter discussed so far. Will the degree of shared knowledge assumed by the child be greater for the televised narrative than, for example, the cartoon pictures? Moreover, will this, and the fact that the televised narrative is more 'complete' in a sense, imply to the child that this is in fact a recall task, a test of comprehension rather than a purely creative situation. I found that I could not resolve these problems but I now have a clearer idea of them.

As I adopted a more interpretive methodology I felt a need to elicit more spontaneous narratives which would be free of some of the situational constraints that I have discussed. The amount of time needed to process just one of the spontaneously produced narratives was one of the factors that led me to adopt a case study approach at that time.

Up to this point I had only transcribed the children's spoken language. This decision was based on the fact that all of the children in this study attended an oral school for the deaf which emphasised the use of the children's residual hearing to develop their spoken language as much as possible. It seemed reasonable, to consider their narrative abilities in the context of their spoken language. It was also based on the fact that I did not have the necessary skills to be able to interpret their signed language.

Transcription:

My decision about what aspects of the recording should, or could, be transcribed indicates that transcription poses not only practical but theoretical problems. There is no single correct transcription for any particular discourse and no method of transcription is suitable for all studies of discourse. There is also a danger of transcribing a recording in such fine detail that one isolates features of the discourse which had no reality for the performer of the text or the listener at the time.

Transcribing the discourse of deaf children is particularly difficult and could not be achieved without recourse to video recordings. The teacher of the child is obviously more accustomed to the child's speech and can interpret vocalisations which would otherwise be unintelligible to the naive listener. However, a correct interpretation is never certain. Indeed, on the second and third transcription one can still find marked differences between interpretations. In choosing to transcribe only the spoken narrative one is not only avoiding some practical complications but also affecting the kinds of information available from the text.

Caution is therefore necessary in making assumptions about children's narrative abilities from such transcripts and the theoretical bias of choosing

only the spoken discourse needs to be made clear. It seemed to me, however, that the assumptions I could make about the spoken texts were too limiting and thus I decided to include an interpretation of kinesic features in my case study. This made the task of transcription particularly difficult. I therefore compare different perspectives on the narratives from other sources including the subject. The procedures of triangulation used by Adelman (1981) seemed appropriate.

He said that the process was potentially limitless which echoes what Cicourel (1973) called the 'indefinite triangulation' where each claim to a level of adequacy can itself be subjected to the same sort of analysis. This approach, it seems to me, is positive and suggests, like Bruner (1986) that depth is better achieved by looking from two points at once.

ADDENDUM

This addition to the main body of the text is intended as a brief preview of the empirical studies and to offer a rationale for the studies within the context of a change in methodology as I gained some insights into the narrative processes of deaf children. The study itself, therefore, can be seen as developmental in that my understanding of the narrative processes of deaf children increased at each stage of the study and altered my perception of what 'the problem' is.

I felt myself moving away from a method where I was looking for some numerical summary which would enable me, for example, to compare children's performance across context in order to say in which context their output was richer than another, towards a hermeneutic approach where I wanted to know why the children do what they do and produce the sorts of narratives that they produce, what influences the children are drawing on, what effect I am having in that situation and how they interpret the task. The areas of research which seemed to be moving in the same direction were in the ethnographic tradition and anthropological linguistics.

The first study looks at the structural features of deaf children's narrative and, within the context of

structural models of narrative, is an attempt to quantify the use of particular narrative structures. From this first study I became aware of the many situational constraints on narrative production and the need to acknowledge these within the study.

Study two investigates one aspect of these situational constraints on narrative production; the influence of media. Numerical summaries of the effects of different media on the child's production of narrative suggested that the medium in which resource materials are presented to children in order to elicit narratives influences their production significantly. However, this left the important questions of how the texts were produced and how these texts might be perceived by other children in the context of an impaired ability to rely on strictly linguistic means to organise discourse.

The third study, therefore, looks at this problem of the ability of children to understand others in discourse situations such as storytelling where they are trying to make sense in ways that are relatively autonomous without the scaffolding of adult clarification. Groups of deaf and hearing children are asked to re-tell stories performed by a different group of deaf and hearing children.

At this stage of the research I was increasingly uneasy about drawing conclusions about a child's

narrative ability on the basis of their spoken language. I decided, therefore, to look for a method which would present a fuller picture of the child's language and communication processes. From a situation where the stories were a source of data I had moved to a new situation where, in a sense, the stories were the data.

The move towards a pragmatically richer data base led me to a case study of a profoundly deaf girl. The hermeneutic approach adopted in the analysis of Lucy's stories revealed how including non-verbal aspects of communication can alter our interpretation of a child's narrative ability.

There is a very real sense in which I had no choice about the methodological direction of the thesis. Faced with the problems of understanding the narratives of this group of children I was forced into an interpretation as a difficult but inescapable process.

CHAPTER FOUR

STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF DEAF CHILDREN'S NARRATIVE

CHAPTER FOUR : CONTENTS

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CHAPTER FOUR

STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF DEAF CHILDREN'S NARRATIVE

In chapter two I said that research into deaf children's linguiustic abilities has concentrated on phonological (Dodd, 1976) and syntactic development (Presnell, 1973), taking the highest unit of linguistic analysis to be the sentence. The problems encountered by deaf children in these areas are well documented. Overall the picture is disappointing and, for a teacher of the deaf, rather frustrating. Quigley and Paul (1984) describe a situation of no significant advances on reading test scores from data collected between 1910 (Pintner and Patterson, 1916) and 1977 (Trybus and Karchmer, 1977). The situation with written language is similar (Quigley, Wilbur, Power, Montanelli and Steinkamp, 1976).

One has to be cautious, however, when making assumptions about deaf children's knowledge and use of English syntax in decontextualised situations. Studies of verbatim recall for written sentences (Sarachan-Deily, 1982: Sarachan-Deily and Love, 1974) indicated that deaf childern have less proficiency than hearing children in using English syntactic rules to aid their

organisation and written recall of sentences.

It was assumed that the quality of written language was "the best single indicator of a deaf child's command of English structure." (Quigley, 1980). It is also indicative of an assumption in the education of deaf children at the time that children must first be able to demonstrate understanding of syntactic structures in isolated sentences before such structures could be understood in connected text. Studies of hearing children, however, suggested that increased exposure to written language facilitates the acquisition of complex syntax (Chomsky, 1969).

This prompted further research into the influence of context on deaf children's understanding of syntactic structures (McGill-Franzen and Gormley, 1980). McGill-Franzen and Gormley concluded that an understanding of syntax is mediated by the meaningfulness of the task rather than on some attribute of the child and that syntax is better understood when embedded in a familiar prose context. Similarly, Sarachan-Deily, commenting on the above studies, suggested that since everyday reading and writing tasks rarely called for a child to remember sentences verbatim, that the recall of meaningful prose might be more apropriate (Sarachan-Deily, 1985).

This mirrored the somewhat evolutionary change of emphasis, on the part of research into the

linguistic abilities of hearing children, from sentence structure to the semantic features of language in discourse and further to the context of situation in which the language is used. Sarachan-Deily (1982) examined the semantic content of deaf childen's narratives in terms of their ability to recall propositional and inferential information.

Frederickson defined propositions as basic units of meaning consisting of concepts, which usually represent states or events. It is the information which is stated explicitly in the text (Frederickson, 1977). However the use of propositions as the sole units of discourse was seen to be inadequate in providing a description of how propositions are related to each other (Stein and Glenn, 1979). It is the relationship between propositions, or inferences, which, according to Frederickson carry the meaning of the text as a whole. Inferential information is therefore any implicit information from the text which is not stated explicitly.

Implicit information is very much a feature of context and culture. The child is bringing his or her whole knowledge to make inferences about text. The ability to go beyond literal meaning in discourse provides the child with the ability to disorganise and reorganise what counts as common sense and real (Meek, 1985). The discourse of 'supposition' releases the

child from what Bateson described as an endless interchange of stylized messages, a game with rigid rules, unrelieved by chance or humour (Bateson, 1973).

The ability to infer meaning and the knowledge and use of figurative language are important strategies in enabling the child to integrate cognitive, social and linguistic experiences with textual information. Inferencing seems to create major problems for deaf children (Wilson, 1979) as does figurative language (Payne, 1982). This has serious implications for deaf children's access to literature and literature based activities in the classroom.

Giorcelli (1982) developed a Test of Figurative Language which assessed ten aspects of figurative language including interpretation of anomaly and linguistic problem solving. Hearing subjects scored significantly higher than the deaf subjects. The eighteen year old deaf subjects did not perform as well as nine year old hearing subjects. Producers of written and spoken text expect inferences to be made. Saying one thing and meaning another is an important feature of everyday communication. Bending the 'rules' of linguistic convention establishes a sense of language as its own context in what Chukovsky (1963) described as "intellectual effrontery".

The move from the study of syntax to the pragmatic features of language in the 1970's led to an

understanding that the meaning of a total discourse is more than can be explained from the sum of the meanings at the sentence and word level. Research therefore focussed on larger units of discourse, or text. With the acknowledgement that higher level units such as text have a social and psychological reality for users of language, attention has been focussed on the narrative development of children and on one aspect of narrative in particular, the story.

THE USES OF NARRATIVE

Narrative is a concept which informs almost every aspect of human activity. Our constructs of what is real are our own narratives about what we imagine 'reality' to be. It is an effective mode of ordering experiences of the world and relating our linguistic processes to those experiences.

In an essay on one particlar genre of narrative, the novel, Hardy confirms the ubiquitous nature of narrative when she writes, "we dream in narrative, day-dream in narrative, remember, anticipate, hope, despair, believe, doubt, plan, revise, criticise, construct, gossip, learn, hate, love by narrative." (Hardy, 1968). If narrative is a means of describing the world to ourselves then stories could be described as an important means of redescribing our 'world' to others and providing important information about that

world and the linguistic processes involved in creating it. It requires, according to Graesser, a variety of cognitive and linguistic skills such as the ability to present knowledge linguistically in appropriate rhetorical mode and knowledge of causal, intentional, spatial and role relationships (Graesser, 1981).

Educationalists, writers, and researchers who share an interest in the area of chilren's literature and their development and response to story, also share a feeling for the importance of a sense of story in the child's social , cognitive and emotional development.

The breadth of interest from many disciplines inevitably means that this particular genre of narrative has been researched from a variety of perspectives. These range from an analysis of story as a way of children experiencing the culture and values of a society (Bettleheim, 1978), as an important factor in the child's constuction of 'reality' (Meek, 1985), the role of the narrative mode in children's literacy development and the analysis of the structure of story or 'story grammar'(Page and Stewart, 1985).

The creation of an imaginary situation is not, according to Vygotsky, "a fortuitous fact in a child's life but is rather the first manifestation of the child's emancipation from situational constraints" (Vygotsky, 1932). The release of the child from

"situational constraints" not only allows the child to reflect on previous experience and to project that experience into an understanding of future events but it also introduces the child to other 'worlds' and what Meek described as the "language of another universe" (Meek, 1985).

Here the emotive, the cognitive and the linguistic are inseparable. Indeed, Wade places story as central to the process of learning, having the coherence that many other of the traditional language activities lack (Wade, 1983) and brings to the learning situation three important factors : pleasure, relevance and motivation.

If we accept Wade's assertion that story is central to the process of learning then as a teacher of the deaf I am interested in the implications of such a statement for the education of deaf children. However, as with the concept of 'language', it would not be possible or realistic to attempt to discuss the multiple definitions of 'narrative' and developments within the very broad area of text linguistics. For a fuller treatment of these issues readers are invited to look at the work of van Dijk (1977), Halliday and Hasan (1976) or Kintsch, (1977).

I will instead examine those aspects of text making which have informed our knowledge of the uses and structure of story in the education of children in

general and deaf children in particular. Moreover, I want to go further than an analysis of structure to consider the ways in which 'performers' of narrative and 'audiences' or listeners construct and interpret texts.

Evidence from research with pre-school children suggests very strongly that the narrative abilities of children are developmental and that this development is observable well before their formal education begins. Applebee, who has made one of the most significant contributions to our knowledge of a child's sense of story, felt that there was an evident similarity between the structural characteristics of the child's narrative between the ages of two and five, and Vygotsky's stages of conceptual development in that the cognitive tasks involved are very similar. However, a major poroblem with this model was that the re-telling of the story reflected the adult prose model rather than the child's own narratives. This was particularly important because Applebee was looking at developmental processes in storytelling (Applebee, 1978).

The use of books within the interactive situation of adult and child is an important influence on the child's appreciaton of story form through the medium of the written prose. Since young children cannot read, their ability to recognise features of story comes from the adult's spoken 'performance' of the text.

Three points arise from this: firstly, that the interactive situation is an important one, secondly, that spoken and written models do not exist as separate entities and finally, the implications of this for what we know about the parent-deaf child interaction at this stage of development.

The second point deals with the child's 'emergent literacy' and in particular some of the previously held views about the child's language development which have been recently questioned (Sulzby and Teale, 1984). For example the assuption that oral and written language are learned in linear order with written language being the decoding of spoken language. This ignored the cultural framework of oral and written language relationships where speech and textual contexts overlap, because certain speech contexts require features of literate language. Furthermore, this questions the assumption that the child must first master the basic skills of word recognition, spelling and letter formation before achieving the higher based skills of composition and comprehension.

Children are thus producing and understanding written discourse form before they are reading and writing conventionally. The texts will be delivered orally but they can be distinguished by their wording and intonational patterns appropriate to written language. Dombey, in a study of a mother's bedtime

reading to her daughter, described how the mother mediated between the child and the author through her interaction and patterns of intonation, thus mother familiarises the child with new syntactic forms (Dombey, 1983).

The adult's intonation patterns are attention demanding. The deafer the child, however, the less demanding the patterns will be. The deaf child, absorbed in his or her own experiences, faces the problem, not faced by hearing children, that the sound never forces itself into the child's awareness. There is evidence to show that children who listen to stories or who are read to acquire distinctive narrative competence at an early stage.

Carol Fox (1983) recorded eighty six narrative monologues from one child between the ages of 5.0 and 6.1 years. She suggested that this early appreciation of narrative is evident at three levels. Firstly, at a minimal level in the appearance of a character, plot or phrase. Secondly, at the level of linguistic style when the discourse is that of text rather than speech and finally at the level of narrative conventions and forms which are used by children for their own intentions.

Ninio and Bruner, (1978) described this parent child relationship as 'interactive scaffolding' which is a dialogue between parent and child that has the features of a routine devised for book reading. The

parent takes the child's slightest reaction as a 'turn' and builds a two sided interaction on this. This activity which has also been described as 'labelling and commenting' (Sulzby, 1983) is an indication of a type of independent emergent book reading.

It is the child's independence in the interaction that is most severely threatened by deafness, although it is difficult to be specific about what aspects of the acquisition of narrative competencies are affected. The child who is being read to is attending not only to the object of the parent and child attention, the book, but also to the parent's voice telling the story.

The deaf child must first attend to the book and then to the adult who is commenting on the text, or pictures; that is, to do in series what the hearing child does in parallel. Moreover, the deaf child must make decisions about what part of the text the adult's comment is referring to. It may be a comment about a previously shared part of the text or a comment about the next part of the story. As the interactive aspect of this activity becomes increasingly complicated the adult engages in much more control of the situation and the child relinquishes his own line of thought in order to pursue that of the adult. The more control exerted by the adult the less language received back fromn the child (Wood et al, 1982).

Accepting Halliday's assertion that text is about

meaning and choice one can already assume, from the above, that the deaf child's ability to make choices from a complex and varied range of syntactic options in which to express the meaning of any potential text is severely limited. Moreover, from what we know about the deaf child's acquisition of language we can further asssume that the development of text making abilities is by no means assured. Ethnographic studies of narrative ability would seem to indicate that this lack of ability has possible implications for the social, emotional and intellectual development of deaf children.

It is an area which has been largely ignored, although there has been some research into the written narratives of deaf children (Sarachan-Deily, 1982) and a number of studies of the story recall of children and adults with language impairment and learning difficulties which have suggested that they tend to remember significantly less information from stories but show the same patterns of story organisation (Graybeal, 1981). All these studies reflect a further emphasis given in the study of narrative to the comprehension of text rather than text production.

Below, sixty three narratives produced by deaf children are analysed to see if there are any structural patterns and, moreover, to see to what extent these structures reflect the adult prose models

which have been developed to describe story structure. Before I do that, however, I want to briefly discuss some of the models that have been proposed.

TEXT STRUCTURE MODELS

Studies of the texts that children produce and also their interpretation of other texts have been considered in terms of the knowledge structures that are brought into play even with very minimal texts. It has been argued that there are identifiable narrative structures, or story grammars, which have some psychological significance and identity within the child's world knowledge. According to this argument story grammars are not reducible to world knowledge (Mandler and Johnson, 1980).

Others have argued that, on the contrary, story grammars are either completely reducible to world knowledge (Garnham, 1985) or partially reducible (van Dijk and Kintch, 1983). Certainly, if one considers the range of knowledge needed to interpret the smallest narrative: lexico-grammatical knowledge, social relationships and categories of association, sterotypical literary forms, metaphor, socio-political knowledge etc. then the argument for the existence of story grammar as a psychological reality is hardly tenable. However the task of including the range of

knowledge structures in our analysis of text makes the task decidedly complex and perhaps implausible, although there have been some notable attempts (Schank and Abelson, 1977; Sacks, 1972).

Despite these arguments about knowledge structures it is generally acknowledged that there exists 'a sense of story' which is apparently developmental and therefore related to cognitive growth and that this sense of story affects the way we interpret some narratives. Applebee, discussing an example of the way in which a sense of story can alter our perception of a narrative uses an example from the work of Vygotsky. Vygotsky took a fable and compared a 'realistic' account of its content to a properly constructed fable. The evaluation of the two pieces is, he suggests, quite different and they are integrated into our knowledge of the world in quite different ways (Applebee, 1978). I quote only the first two sentences from each to illustrate the point:

"It is said that monkeys give birth to two little ones.The mothers adore one and hate the other." ..and.

"A monkey once gave birth to two little monkeys.She loved one and hated the other."

In order to allow some insights into what this sense of story or story structure is about, within the framework of the debate on the 'reality' of such structures, researchers have used small well-defined

units of knowledge structure. These have been given a variety of names such as frames, scripts, story grammars and schemas and have been used much wider than in the study of story itself. Several different story grammars have been developed (Mandler and Johnson, 1977; Rumelhart, 1975; Stein and Glenn, 1979; Thorndyke, 1977; Labov, 1972).

The research on the production and comprehension of narratives has tended to see them as discrete categories, although some would argue that they are controlled by the same hierarchical cognitive processes. Of these two 'discrete' areas the most intensively researched has been the comprehension, recall and summarising of given narratives.

Current ideas about the organisation of memory for text comprehension can be traced back to Bartlett's concept of a 'schema' (Bartlett, 1932). He described the schema as an active organisation of past reactions and experiences. This work has been combined with work on Artificial Intelligence to develop some other definitions of memory structures, for example,'scripts' of stereotypical action sequences such as a visit to the dentist.

It is only with the identification of the 'text' as a linguistic and semantic unit in itself that interest in the acquisition of text-making abilities has increased over the past decade (Charolles, 1978;

Scinto, 1977). The common assumptions which form the basis of the comprehension studies have been described by Glenn (1978). He suggests that the behaviour described in stories is purposive and that these purposive behaviours cluster in sequences, or episodes, and are central to the story meaning. Secondly, that within an episode a character is motivated to take a particular action, takes it and that certain consequences result from that. Finally, that readers and listeners structure story information into episodes.

Stein and Glenn's story grammar is an example of the genre (Stein and Glenn, 1979). In this model there are seven discrete categories.

1. Setting: this introduces the main characters and the context in which the events take place.

2. Initiating Events: these are the events that motivate the protagonist to do something.

3. Internal Responses: these refer to the goals, thoughts and feelings of the protagonist.

4. Plans: these indicate intended action.

5. Attempts: indicate the protagonist's actions to achieve goals.

6. Direct Consequences: these indicate the success, or failure, of the protagonist in pursuing the goals.

7. Reactions: these indicate the protagonist's

feelings about the success or failure to achieve the goals.

Categories two to seven are an illustration of the episodic system. A narrative may consist of several such episodes.

Other theorists have differed in the structural categories they propose and in the relative importance of individual categories. The categories are intended to reflect the manner in which narrative information is understood, stored in memory and recalled. They represent, therefore, the cognitive processing of complex information.

Above, I referred to the relationship between cognitive development and the development of narrative ability. Researchers in this area have indicated that structural complexity increases with age and that the order of narrative acquisition appears to parallel that of analogous linguistic structures thus suggesting that both skills use the same underlying cognitive structures (Botvin and Sutton-Smith, 1977; Applebee, 1978). Applebee noted that "the stages in the development of narrative structure .. show striking parallels to the stages in the development of concepts described by Vygotsky." He further suggests that "there is a sense in which the cognitive tasks involved are very similar" .

He distinguishes between those narratives, which

he describes as true narratives, where there is an explicit coherence within the text and less adequate structures such as a sequence of events with little or no connection between them. Because most of the narratives in the study were retellings of well known stories they really reflect the structure of the adult's original prose rather than the child's own developing narrative. His work was nevertheless a significant addition to our knowledge of understanding how complex events may be organised.

Labov (1972) developed his model of narrative structure from structural similarities he found in the oral narratives of black English speakers. The impotance of his model is that it reveals a narrative script that is found in conversation as well as in narrative form. He defined a minimal narrative as a sequence of two clauses which are temporally ordered and a fully formed narrative as having the following structural categories:

1. Abstract: The function of the abstract is to summarise the story. It therefore covers the same ground as the content of the story in brief and as such is not an essential element.

2. Orientation: The orientation is similar to Stein and Glenn's category of 'setting'. It identifies the place, main characters and the time. It is the situation of the narrative. Although it is

theoretically possible for the orientation clauses to be at the beginning of the narrative it is more usually found at strategic points within the narrative.

3. Complicating Action: this details the sequence of events and action within the story. It may or may not present the events in the order in which they occurred. It is the complicating action which defines the narrative genre.

4. Evaluation: This, according to Labov forms a secondary structure which maps onto the narrative. It presents the narrator's point of view and reveals the purpose of the narrative.

5. Resolution: this gives the end result of the actions

6. Coda: the function of the coda is to signal the end of the narrative. Like the abstract, they may be highly stylised as in 'happy ever after' endings.

Models of narrative structure have, therefore, sought to inform us about the child's production and comprehension of stories and of the development of the child's narrative abilities but considerable doubts have been raised about the usefulness of 'story grammars' outside of the small genre of stories they are intended to analyse. Labov's model offers a much richer analysis in that it can be used with spontaneous, everyday narratives as well as conventional stories. I therefore decided to use this

to analyse the narratives of a group of deaf children aged between ten and twelve years old.

METHOD

Subjects

Twenty one children participated in this part of the study. The children were all in their tenth or eleventh year. The average age was 10.6 years. Their hearing loss ranged between 53 dB and 107 dB, with an average of 80 dB. There were 11 boys and 10 girls. An explanation of the method of determining the average hearing loss is given in Appendix (1). All the children were day pupils in a school for deaf children.

The Data

Sixty three narratives were elicited from the children. Each child produced three stories. The children were given prompt materials from which they were free to create their own narratives. Each performance of a narrative was given in front of an audience which included myself and a small group of children who were not taking part in this study.

The stories were recorded using a portable video camera and recorder. The recordings were then transcribed for analysis. I felt the choice of instruction given to the children was an important factor in eliciting the kinds of narratives that I was interested in.

I did not want them to merely 'describe' the prompt materials but to use them to inspire the creation of their own stories. I could have asked the children to produce their own spontaneous narratives, and in retrospect I feel that it would have been very useful to have done so, but I also wanted to study the children's narratives in response to different media and so the choice of prompt materials was deliberate.

Analysis of the Data

The data was analysed for the presence of the structural features of narrative and cohesive syntactic devices which would indicate that, despite the enormous linguistic and cultural impairment caused by deafness, this group of children had some concept of story and, moreover, that this would be evident in their discourse.

One way in which meaning is built up through the syntactic structure of a text is the use of connectives, or conjunctions. These devices are one aspect of what has been described as the 'cohesion' of

a text (Halliday and Hasan, 1976). Through the cohesive system the narrator connects clauses and relates them to the context of the narrative. Connectives function in a different way from other cohesive devices in that they do not function anaphorically. An anaphoric reference refers back to something in the text and relates the two parts of the text as in the following example:

"the little boy name [unclear] / his birthday today / the girl will forgot buy him the present birthday."

The linking of the little boy with 'his' and 'him' tells us that it is the little boy's birthday today and that it is the little boy's present that the girl has forgotten, or is going to forget, to buy. The concept of 'reference' is discussed further in Chapter Six in relation to the coherence of texts.

There are four categories of connectives defined by Halliday and Hasan:

1. Additive: these are the 'and', 'or' type.
2. Adversative: include 'yet', 'but', 'though'.
3. Causal: such as 'so', 'because'
4. Temporal: include 'then', 'next', 'after that' and 'first'.

Such connectives make certain relations between clauses explicit so that when they are absent from the text these relations have to be inferred.

As well as looking at each child individually the children were grouped according to their degree of hearing loss. The narrative model used was that developed by Labov, discussed above, and describes a true narrative as containing: an abstract, an orientation, complicating actions, evaluative structures, a resolution and a coda.

However, whereas other studies have examined the narratives of children using this framework they have usually done so from a developmental perspective (Romaine, 1984; Haslett, 1986). Haslett discovered significant developmental differences across narratives. She found that preoperational children had significantly less complicating actions in their stories: 4 and 5 year old children had a mean of 8.9 complicating actions in each story whereas 6 and 7 year olds had a mean of 18.4 complicating actions. She noted similar differences in the two groups use of evaluative structures and orientation but there were no significant differences in their use of abstracts, codas and resolutions.

In analysing the narratives of deaf children such numerical comparisons are difficult, particularly when one looks at the incidence of complicating actions and evaluative structures. The impoverished linguistic structure of the narratives can make the meaning of the text ambiguous. The situation of the text also put its

own constraints upon the narrative in terms of teacher-child relationships and acknowledged intersubjectivity.

The latter is discussed further in Chapter Six. In the discussion that follows I use an interpretive analysis that attempts to make sense of the deaf child's struggle to create a text with limited syntactic options. In order to do this I draw upon the transcriptions of their narratives, the source materials, the original recordings, the children's own interpretations of what they 'meant' and my own interpretation of the actual text. The validity of this hermeneutic method and its problems for the researcher is discussed in Chapter Three.

RESULTS

The analysis of the narratives of a group of deaf children according to Labov's narrative model suggests that they use features of narrative structure in their stories. It also suggests that there are differences between narratives in the use of some structural features and that these are related in some way to the degree of hearing loss.

Table 4.1:Children grouped according to hearing loss

Loss	50-59	60-69	70-79	80-89	90-99	100-109
(N)	5	2	4	2	3	5

(Note: N = Number of Children)

The use of abstracts accounted for only 5% of the narratives in three stories. All three stories were produced by the same child. Orientations and resolutions only occured in 19% of the stories but other features were more evident.

Table 4.2:Incidence of structural features in the stories.

Total	A	O	R	C	E
63	3	12	12	42	39
%	5	19	19	66	62

(Note: A=Abstract, O=Orientation, R=Resolution C=Coda, E=Evaluative Structures.

There was some difference between boys and girls in this group in their use of abstracts, orientations and resolutions.

Table 4.3:Gender differences in the use of structural features.

Gender	A	O	R	C	E
Boys	0	25	25	52	56
Girls	100	75	75	48	44

(Note: calculations based on percentage scores.e.g. of all the codas recorded 52% of them were produced by boys)

Differences were noted in the use of structural features according to the degree of hearing loss. In particular it was noted that 24% of the children, with hearing losses between 50dB and 59dB, accounted for

100% of abstracts, 58% of orientations and 50% of resolutions. Moreover, 53% of the children, with hearing losses between 50dB and 79dB accounted for 91.2% of orientations and 65% of all the evaluative structures used.

Table 4.4:Comparison of the use of structural features and hearing loss.

Loss	(N)	A	O	R	C	E
50-59	24	100	58	50	14	16
60-69	10	0	16.6	0	7	25
70-79	19	0	16.6	0	28	25
80-89	10	0	0	16.6	0	6
90-99	13	0	8.8	16.6	19	8
100-109	24	0	0	16.6	32	20

(Note: calculations based on percentage scores)

Evaluation structures were divided into three categories: embedded evaluations, external comment and intensifiers. These were the only evaluation structures used by the children except repetition. The use of repetition by deaf children is very difficult to analyse and it is not included in this study. The use of the three structures was also compared across hearing loss:

Table 4.5:Comparison of the use of evaluative structures and hearing loss.

Loss	Embedded (N)	Av	External (N)	Av	Intensifiers (N)	Av	Total (N)	Av
50-59	14	0.9	5	0.3	0	0	19	1.3
60-69	16	2.6	1	0.2	12	2	29	4.8
70-79	24	2.0	1	0.1	4	0.3	29	2.4
80-89	6	1.0	2	0.2	0	0	8	1.3
90-99	7	1.2	0	0	2	0.2	9	1.0
100-109	14	0.9	0	0	10	0.6	24	1.6
Total	81		9		28		118	

The children's use of complicating actions was more evenly spread across hearing loss, although qualitatively the composition of complicating actions varied:

Table 4.6:The use of complicating actions across the range of hearing loss

Loss	Complicating Actions (N)
50-59	16.8
60-69	15.1
70-79	19.5
80-89	15.0
90-99	14.4
100-109	14.1

(Note: Figures given are for the average number of complicating actions per narrative).

The children's use of syntactic structures to organise their narratives was also investigated. It was found that 95% of all the connectives used in the 63 narratives were of the and / then type. The connectives were divided into categories defined by Halliday and Hasan: Additive, adversative, causal and temporal.

Table 4.7:The incidence of connectives in the stories

	Additive	Adversative	Causal	Temporal
(N=315)	220	3	11	81
(%=100)	70	1	4	25

Table 4.8:The use of connectives across hearing loss

Loss	Additive	Adversative	Causal	Temporal
50-59	4	0	0.5	3.2
60-69	2.1	0	0.3	3.5
70-79	4.6	0.2	0	0.6
80-89	0.5	0.08	0.08	0.25
90-99	1.7	0	0	0.1
100-109	4	0	0	0.2

(Note: Figures are for the average number of connectives per narrative in each 'loss' category.)

The use of adversative and causal connectives was minimal across the whole range of hearing loss. Additive connectives are used most frequently and are evident across all the narratives. The use of temporal connectives was most noted in the narratives of children with hearing losses less than 70db.

DISCUSSION

The results of this study seem to support the suggestion that deaf children are aware of narrative structure and that they use these structures in their own narratives. However, they also suggest that there are differences in the use of individual structures which may be related to hearing loss. Children with an

average hearing loss below 79dB used significantly more orientations and evaluative structures than the children with greater average hearing losses. In her analysis of children's narratives, using a developmental perspective, Haslett suggested that the increased use of evaluative devices and orientations indicated a shift from egocentric to sociocentric thought and communication.

It could be argued that these children are more aware of their listener's needs. Certainly, the increased use of evaluative devices suggests an awareness of the need to tell the listener the 'point' of the story or to allow the listener to share the emotion of the text. In this context there is a comparison with the text-making developments of young hearing children as they too develop awareness of the need to articulate their own perspective and acknowledge that it may be different from that of the listener.

However, as hearing children are advancing in their social and communicative awareness they are also developing increasingly sophisticated syntactic structures which improves their abilty to make more complex choices in order to express what it is they want to 'mean'. It may be, therefore, that deaf children are aware of a mental model of 'story' and its function as a way of organising experience but do not

have the organisational linguistic structures to ensure that the narrative is also coherent.

Below are some examples of narratives which tend to typify the responses of this group of children. The narratives are divided into their structural elements. The three following stories were produced by children in the group with the greatest average hearing losses:

<u>complicating action</u> write / look / chair walking / see chair / head chair / walk / help please / walking / see head / see who / .... / books / brown / walking / children / right / fall over / .... / rememember photo / there

<u>coda</u> finished.

This narrative resembles Applebee's category of an unfocussed chain. There is no 'constant' or centre to this story and no integration of the text. Any connections between the actions must be inferred. There is no orientation to set the scene or introduce us to the subject/s of the narrative. The narrator is seemingly locked within the narrative with no external comment. The narrative is not brought to a close but is ended rather abruptly with a coda.

None of the stories in this study had what might be called a typical storybook ending such as 'happily ever after'. However, the endings could be divided into

two categories; one in which a resolution is used to bring the narrative to an end and the other, more commonly used coda 'finished'. The children who used the 'finished' coda tended to do so over all three narratives. One explanation for this is the child's preferred mode of communication. A typical way for the child whose preferred mode of communication is sign to conclude a narrative is to use the sign for 'finished'. Hence the use of the coda 'finished' could be seen as an example of bilingual interference.

complicating action paint paint / .... / watch watch watch / .... in / write .... / paper paper table / same / walk walk walk / police / man brown holding / in rabbit in rabbit / paint fall / dirty dirty dirty paint fall dirty / paint paint boy paint boy / talk boy / door flower
coda finished.

Again, there is no setting for this narrative and no integration between the events but the ending is once more marked with a coda. This child makes much use of repetition. Repetition can be used within a narrative as an evaluative device to heighten the drama of an event and make it 'worth listening to'. Music can be used to the same effect with Grieg's 'Hall of the Mountain King' and Ravel's 'Bolero' being two notable

examples. The use of repetition by these children is, I believe, important to our understanding of how they organise their narratives: as a device to denote ongoing action as in 'walk walk walk' , as an evaluative structure as in the case where 'dirty dirty dirty' is being used as an intensifier but, more interestingly, as the fundamental structural and thematic marker.

This text and the one before it illustrates one of the difficulties of attempting a story grammar analysis on these narratives. It is possible to describe the syntactic elements in that we can say that the texts are largely verb dominated or that they are a collection of nouns and lexical items that can be allocated to syntactic categories but it is much more difficult to say that a particular verb or noun phrase belongs to a particular episodic category or even to see how these items might be hierarchically ordered.

The syntactic categories are also problematic. The words "paint paint" in the second narrative could be part of a verbal clause with the subject omitted or part of a noun clause with the definite article omitted. In order to clarify such ambiguities evidence is required from the narrator, the source material, signs and gesture as well as one's own interpretation.

The following narrative is rather more structured. There is no orientation but there is a sequential

development and a use of evaluative structures which indicates that this child is producing a narrative and not merely labelling. I return to this point in Chapter Five. Evaluative structures are underlined:

complicating action Jane writing look writing / cup table / up window / and chair / witing / chair sit on writing / girl said Jane have a look hello / the chair / happy / talk say / boy hold chair / door / leave it / Jane holding hold / boy holding / very old / painting / and dig / leave it / two very old / painting / boy hat / boy .... / have a look / Jane sad / oh dear look / painting / boy / girl / oh dear / alright painting / painting / beautiful a house / painting / boy looking painting / Jane look / boy / cat / holding pretending / sad / talking / said that / floor / trees / painting.

The theme of this narrative so far is very heavily accentuated with a constant repetition of 'painting'. It is the constant reminder of 'this is what I'm talking about' while the child struggles to develop the action. This use of repetition to maintain the structure is also evident later in the narrative as the thematic focus changes from painting to taking a photograph:

complicating action Boy running / the go away running / the boy cat cat holding / boy / jumper / half / there green / man wall / oh stand upstairs / looking / photograph / on tree / looking waiting / photograph / the film man photograph / .... beautiful / back / brick brick / Jane mummy boy girl boy / cat lost / girl boy laughing / and man photograph / fall brick man fall down / boy ha ha ha / mummy laughing / girl laughing / dad laughing ha ha ha / cat oh dear / man photograph / sit down / brick in on grass / flowers grass grass / ground / sit down / photograph
coda finished.

Although the narrative has a number of complicating actions it is not coherent. Any connections between events must, again, be inferred accepting that any listener could identify an 'event' in such a narrative. Where the use of connectives is largely indiscriminate, however, there is very little improvement in the coherence of the text:

complicating action girl children people and money / lots of people and writing / all fifty / how many / and the boy pig pig and .... / finished / all paint red yellow and pink red / and painting / and making pig paint / finished / .... go play / and the man go friend / pig in in the box / about the play house friend and

have a look / come here the girl / little have a look / throw away / oh dear / tell police / where do you live / write it / and writing red yellow blue orange and finished

coda finished.

The phrase "girl children people and money" is a possible orientation. It introduces characters and relates the theme of the text to "money". The child also uses 'finished' in the text as a sequential marker. It is also interesting to note the child's creative use of 'pink red' for orange, a word which he remembers later in the text. This child had an average hearing loss of 73dB in the better ear.

The next example comes from a child with an average hearing loss of 58dB in the better ear. In this narrative the text is structured and integrated but the syntactic structure overall is rather primitive:

Abstract About story birthday

Orientation the little boy name .... his birthday today / the girl will forgot buy him the present birthday /

complicating action the girl and boy and little boy big one boy going to shop buy something for birthday / girl and boy went to shop / inside one boy looking after money / only sixty 'p' / one boy walking / fall over on the path / and lost ten pence through a hole water /

only fifty pence / look after to buy one something / evaluation because dont like that anything he wants buy for /
complicating action the girl will buy big box and buy paper / then they will go home / they practice making / then putting in the box / the idea the boy say quickly the boy / then reading / the boy came he say hello my birthday / I'm going to go in / the boy boy playing /
resolution happy run off then /
coda finished.

According to Labov's narrative model this narrative could be defined as fully formed in terms of its structure. The child uses external comment to explain the text and to provide motive. The narrative appears more cohesive than the previous ones with a series of events syntactically and structurally integrated. Such a story indicates a broad awareness of narrative form.

The most noticeable feature of the narratives of this group of children, however, was the power of the performance; an understanding that, as a social activity, stories are to be told and enjoyed. It was the clearest expression of the child creating narrative through repetition, expressive noises, mime and gesture and speech :

girl very sad / oh very very sad oh / fall red / and come on / white go / and pretend / and arrgh dead dead / pretend / raining no / sun better playing / and oh dear / and girls face cry and clever / and come on hold hold / very frightened and very frightened / pretend together frightened / and oh right / arrgh / sharp nothing nothing / pretend / and oh rubbish rubbish rubbish / and table / and off off / finished.

Before concluding this part of the study there are some cautions which should be noted. Firstly that the child's use of a particular structure does not imply that the child is using it appropriately or well. The use of and /then, for example, may be used, as in the example above, to connect superficially rather than as a truly cohesive device. Also data from children's production of stories should not be taken to be indicative of cognitive skills or their narrative abilities in other genre.

Care must also be taken to acknowledge the many situation-dependant factors which affect the production of a particular narrative by a particular child in one particular situation. In the next chapter I investigate one aspect of the situational constraints on narrative production, that is, the influence of media on narrative production.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE INFLUENCE OF MEDIA AND SITUATION ON THE CHILD'S PRODUCTION OF NARRATIVE

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE INFLUENCE OF MEDIA AND SITUATION ON THE CHILD's PRODUCTION OF NARRATIVE

INTRODUCTION

Stories and storybooks conventionally go together. In Chapter Four I discussed, within the frame of what has been described as 'emergent literacy', the very complex interelationship between the child's understanding of what stories are about and the written prose models of stories found in literature. It is this written prose model which has informed much of the research into the child's development of story. So that our understanding of children's knowledge of story has tended to focus on their ability to recognise and recall stories which closely adhere to the written prose model that is found in books.

In this chapter I want to consider the deaf child's production of narrative from the perspective of the influence of the medium in order to discover whether there are resulting differences in the organisation of the narrative, and to what extent the differences in its organisation are reflected linguistically in the child's use of different syntactic options. Although there are many aspects of the narrative to choose from I decided to look

particularly at character and the ways in which references to characters are introduced and maintained throughout the discourse.

Despite the enormous importance of books as a medium for presenting stories to children, television has also had an increasingly important part to play, not only in the home but in education too. In a survey of 259 teachers in 17 Local Education Authorities by Choat, Griffin and Hobbart (Choat, 1986) 91% of the teachers interviewed said that they used television to assist with children's language development.

In the sixties, when research into television was concerned with its content rather than the medium itself, the main focus of attention was television violence and its possible effects in terms of encouraging aggressive or anti-social behaviour (Eron, 1974). Later, in the seventies, the focus of research changed to the study of the medium itself and how it might be used, although interest was mainly focussed on the prosocial influences of the medium.

Each medium demands from the child the use of particular skills and sensory perception, and makes use of different linguistic and visual symbols. Just as children are required to develop particular skills for each medium so symbol systems differ in the kinds of information that they are best suited to present. Salomon's work indicates that children understand the

content of any media presentation better when they understand the formats used to present the content (Salomon, 1979). It is further suggested that the two are interelated in that each form of experience, including the various symbol systems tied to the media produces a unique pattern of skills for dealing with or thinking about the world (Olson and Bruner, 1974).

There has been much research into televised presentation of audio and visual information for children and the use of television as an entertainment or educational medium with handicapped children, particularly with hearing impaired children (Hill , 1980/81 ;Preisler, 1975/6 ;Tucker, 1979 ;Edwards,1974). As a backgroud to my own study I want to briefly discuss some of the research relevant to deaf children and some of the research issues that have focussed on the child's ability to comprehend televised narrative.

Research with deaf children and adults has focussed on the technical limitations of television in giving access to information , and also on the way information is presented, recalled and understood in an educational setting.. In a study of the means of improving the effectiveness of television programmes for partially sighted and partially hearing/deaf children Tucker identified some of the problems faced by these groups. He felt that educational programmes

for normal children were unsuitable for deaf children, mainly because of the rate of information giving being too fast. Other factors like ambient noise were also distracting.

Television's structure and form are partly responsible for problems in abstracting and processing important and meaningful content. For example, the central content is often presented verbally, whereas much of what is visually salient is also incidental to the main theme of the narrative. When children do attend to verbal material it is often too abstract to be useful in providing enough clues to facilitate a thorough understanding. Children have difficulty in recognising and differentiating central from incidental information, in relating antecedents to consequences (Collins, 1970) and in preserving the temporal nature of the presentation (Collins, 1978).

Roy Edwards in his study of the use of educational television with slow learning and handicapped children, like Tucker, discussed the special advantages of a video recorder for use in special education to make the information available over a longer time period and, more importantly enabled the programmes to be discussed before and after 'transmission' by the teacher. The implication being that this would improve the development of effective processing skills such as verbal labelling, pausing and rehearsal which have been

shown to improve integration and recall of television content when used. The recording of 'educational' programmes by schools is now common practice for this reason and also because of an increased awareness of the role of using video not only in the classroom as an audio visual resource but also as a research tool and as a means of assessment.

The Public and Programme Research Division of the Swedish State Radio have also undertaken research to evaluate the problems of producing programmes for people with specific sensory handicaps and the problems encountered by the deaf in particular as 'consumers' of the service. Preisler (1976) said that many deaf and seriously hearing impaired people had high expectations of television when it arrived but that for most of them it had proved to be a disappointment. She said that television pictures did not provide the information many had been hoping for and that instead of providing a new medium for information and experience, what in fact was provided was pictorial information which still presupposed that it was possible to receive the audible information provided.

Swedish State Radio looked at ways of experimenting with the way in which information is transmitted in order to improve its accessibility. This included the use of captions and sub-texts that we are now familiar with and also the use of presenters using

sign-language. The I.B.A. studies had looked, as mentioned above, at ways of tackling the information deficit by using or making changes in the 'hardware' of programme transmission, whilst still retaining original transmissions unchanged.

However,in 1980 Yorkshire Television made and transmitted a series of educational programmes for the hearing impaired and slow learning children. The programmes called 'Insight' used drama, mime and dialogue with sub-titles. The aim of the programmes was to provide language experience and information and to increase vocabulary in an entertaining way. Here then was an attempt to use more visual techniques to improve access to the auditory content of programmes and to merge educational and entertainment styles to maintain a high interest level.

The I.B.A. commissioned an evaluative report on the programmes (Hill, 1980). The report contained a great deal of information and advice for programmers and teachers based on detailed comments from teachers. I don't want to discuss those here but it is interesting to note that this report, like the others, discussed the advantages of recording the transmissions and the importance of preparation and techniques that are not required in normal teaching.

This begs the question of whether or to what extent hearing impaired children can have immediate

access to the information given in any particular programme without the use of interpretation, secondary sources and materials . I return to this problem in Chapter Six.

The Hill report itself makes the recommendation that programmes should be more self-explanatory, with the use of much simpler language and a clearer sequence of events so that deaf children can "take the lead in discussing programmes" (page v).

Swedish Radio looked at programme content and the way information is transmitted to children. The philosophy behind Preisler's project seems to be quite different from one which looks at the use of technical equipment to improve accessibility to programmes. Neither does she talk about using simpler language as being an option for improving understanding. However, Preisler did agree that.. "the necessary condition for many of the children who were deaf or suffered from seriously impaired hearing to be able to assimilate the contents of the programmes was that ...they should have been prepared in advance for what they were going to see.". .presumably so that any 'new' information in the transmission could be put into context and the meaning derived from it.

This is so despite the fact that the Swedish programmes had included within the transmission a programme leader who made use of speech combined with

sign language to introduce a series of films on the subject of 'emotions'. So here was an attempt to make the programme more self explanatory. The changes were still, however, quite peripheral to the content that was to be 'understood' in an educational context. The programmes entitled "What it feels like" and transmitted in 1975 were intended for children between the ages of 4-8 years old. These 'films' which made up part of the programme did not contain sign-language. Teachers were asked to evaluate child interest and understanding of the content. Although interest was high across all levels of impairment the understanding of the content seemed to depend to a large extent on the degree of deafness.

There seems therefore to have been a general agreement here that in order to improve the deaf child's understanding of material produced on television the following criteria are important.

1.Teachers and children should have access to the material beforehand.

2.The language of the broadcast should be accessible to deaf children. The means of doing this are varied but include such things as signing, simplification of the language structures and simplifying the vocabulary. I find this the least satisfactory solution because it presents ths child with a sterile linguistic experience removed from what

has been described as the dynamic edge of language acquisition.

3.The use of technical equipment such as video recorders to enable teachers to review parts or the whole of the programme. This would enable a more interactive mode between the child and the medium and possibly the development of processing skills.

Through my own work I was aware of the high level of interest that deaf children have in television. They, like hearing children, undoubtedly spend a great deal of their leisure time watching it. It also forms a large part of their topics for conversation, language work, art and also their spontaneous conversations with their peers. It seems to share with stories a relevance, motivation and pleasure for deaf children.

Television uses the symbol system of visual images and language. Moreover, they are ordered in time and the time line for any narrative is given. For example, it can pass from historical time to the present and within any particular scene the child is aware of, not only what is happening, but for how long.

The other media used in this study, photographs and cartoons, also use visual imagery but language may only be inferred. They are also two-dimensional representations. This feature illustrates one of the main differences between the three media and that is their ability to depict movement. Television, because

it is a series of moving images, can easily depict human movement from which actions and intentions can be inferred. With two-dimensional presentations the movement is only implied.

Friedman and Stevenson (1975) in a study of the developmental changes in understanding of implied motion in two-dimensional pictures make the assumption that pictorial clues vary in the degree to which they retain the structural relationships that hold in the three-dimensional world.

Therefore, in my three categories, the television and photographic representations retain to a great extent the structural relationships of the real world, the cartoons much less so. The cartoons in the Friedman and Stevenson study made use of multiple images and blurs to imply movement in cartoon characters. Movement can also be implied by the posture of the cartoon characters. I used this device in my own study on the evidence that such postural clues are easier to interpret than what Friedman and Stevenson referred to as 'cartoon cues'.

Although it is not the intention of this study to examine the area of visual perception in deaf children there are nevertheless some interesting findings in the literature which have a relevance to this study.

It has been said that changes in the way images are produced affect the way in which information is

understood and that understanding pictures is a matter of matching the information represented in the picture with corresponding information from the three dimensional environment. In a study of children's awareness of photographs as a representational medium Kose (1985) demonstrated that the medium of representation is an important component in what children understand about the information presented in pictures .This is an important consideration in educational terms and suggests that the task presented to the group of deaf children, to produce a narrative from three different types of visual images, is rather more complex than I at first thought.

There is also the additional problem for deaf children of the auditory information from televised narratives. By the time they are five years old hearing children have developed strategies for watching television which allows them to divide their visual attention between the television and other activities by monitoring the soundtrack at a superficial level. They detect changes in auditory information which suggests changes in the content of the programme content . Sound effects may however draw attention to incidental features of the televised narrative with the result that central features of the narrative are not understood.

In another study children were tested for recall

of television content that was presented with formal features that were highly salient such as action sequences, sound effects or visual special tricks or low in salience such as verbal dialogue (Huston-Stein, 1979).

Children remembered central, theme relevant content better when it was presented with highly salient formal features than when it was presented with low salience techniques. The problem, particularly for deaf children, is that much of the thematic structure of televised narrative is carried verbally. However, there is an implication here for educational programmes for hearing and deaf children which would alter the focus of research into programming away from the 'pause and review' approach to an approach which looks at the features of the medium itself. For example, associating content with formal features that are highly salient, particularly central rather than incidental content might improve comprehension. Although, there is the added complication that young children do not necessarily share the adult's ideas about what is and is not 'central' information. Indeed they often attend to and recall content that is incidental and irrelevant to the 'message' (Collins, 1970). It is suggested that the child's ability to extract thematic relevance from televised material increases with age and cognitive growth (Collins, 1978).

MEDIA DIFFERENCES IN STRUCTURE

In Chapter Four I looked at the structure of deaf children's narratives using Labov's model of a complete narrative. He suggested that a fully formed narrative has the following elements:

1.Abstract

2.Orientation

3.Complicating Action

4.Evaluation

5.Resolution

6.Coda

I now want to consider to what extent the structural differences might be related to the medium of the source material from two perspectives. Firstly, to compare the use of Labov's categories of structural elements across different media and, secondly, to look at the way in which the child builds up meaning in the text through the syntactic structure to create referents linguistically and to maintain the reference to them.

The Reference System:

In any narrative there are several ways in which reference is made to people, objects, events or ideas. In this part of the study I am looking only at reference to character and in particular the adequacy of first reference in terms of its presuppositional

properties. However, the concept of reference itself is much wider than that.

The reference system has been defined by Halliday and Hasan (1976) as divisible into those referents which are exophoric and those which are endophoric. Exophoric referents rely on knowledge structures outside of the text for their full interpretation. Endophoric reference, on the other hand, operates within the text itself and is therefore cohesive.

Endophoric reference can either be anaphoric, referring back to a previous point in the narrative, as in: "the girls is getting out of an old house and they went to the police station" where the pronoun 'they' refers back to 'the girls' or it can be cataphoric, referring forward to a future point in the text for their interpretation as in: "because he had lost his pigs Simon went to the police station". Examples of cataphora are less common than anaphoric expressions.

In a discussion of discourse skills and development theory Hickmann (1985) looked at the referring expressions used to first mention referents in discourse. These were then tabulated according to their presuppositional qualities. She defined three categories or groups into which the expressions were allocated depending on their relative effectiveness in establishing presuppositions of the existence and specificity of referents for the subsequent use of

coreferential noun phrases in the narrative. The three categories were: effective, ineffective and mixed.

Effective forms: These are forms using the indefinite article 'a' or the expression 'this' or 'these' : 'a boy came' or 'this boy came'. They can be used in conjunction with an existential clause as in: 'there were these children painting on a wall', or a topic clause as in: 'this story was about a birthday'. The definite article can also be an effective form where there is sufficient descriptive content as in: 'he bought the chocolate that he was going to give to Lucy.'

Ineffective forms: These forms presuppose a shared background knowledge about the existence and specificity of the referents. Referents are thus presupposed rather than created on first mention. They use the definite article as in: 'the boy ran off' or pronouns as in 'he ran off'. There are also ineffective uses of possesive constructions such as 'and his friend paint' where the referent 'friend' is introduced in relation to some other referent 'his' that was never previously mentioned.

Hickmann noted very little use of mixed, or ambiguous, forms in the narratives in her sample from groups of hearing children. However, the narratives of the deaf children in my study revealed a predominant use of mixed forms,particularly nouns without

determiners. I have, therefore, included mixed forms as ineffective forms

As with this study Hickmann used children's narratives elicited in a number of situations including film narratives and picture narratives. She found that the use of effective forms was developmental and that the evidence suggested that these linguistic skills emerged at about seven years of age in her sample of hearing children. She further suggested that her results were consistent with studies which suggested that cohesive uses and interpretations of referring expression are a relatively late development (Karmiloff- Smith, 1977).

METHOD

The Children:

Data are available for 21 children, 11 boys and 10 girls, with an average hearing loss in the better ear of 80dB and an avearage age of 10 years 6 months.

Materials

A variety of source materials were used. There are undoubtedly problems inherent in providing any kind of prompt materials when one is looking at the child's production of narrative and these were discussed in Chapter Three.

It would of course be very useful to have a corpus of spontaneously produced narratives although the methodological problems arising from the collection and analysis of such a corpus would be complex. The issue of spontaneous texts compared with conventional 'stories' is addressed in Chapter Seven. The decision to use prompt materials in this part of the study arose out of my own classroom practice where the children are given various kinds of narrative materials in the teaching of English without a clear understanding of the child's response to different media.

Sixty three narratives were elicited from the children. Each child produced three narratives using a different medium as source material. The three media were: television, photographs and cartoon line drawings. All the children had previously had experience of using these media in their language development work in school and in a wide range of other media at home and at school.

The source materials used were based on a series of television programmes for hearing impaired or slow learning children called 'Insight'. These programmes, transmitted by the Independant Broadcasting Authority, were intended to "provide language experience, with the emphasis on encouraging a broader understanding of the function of language as a tool for abstract thinking, self-expression, communicating feelings and play." The

part of the transmission that I used for the televised narrative was a five minute story which featured the adventures of a group of four children.

Five of these short stories were used. Their topics are: having a group photograph taken, two programmes about the children making models of pigs and 'losing' them, buying a birthday present and a drama about George and the dragon. Each of the stories was recorded on video tape for showing at a convenient time.

Photographs were used for the second medium. The photographs were contact prints taken 'off-screen' at points within the text of each television transmission using the pause facility on the video recorder. Twelve photographs were taken of each story. An example of these photographs can be seen in Appendix (2).

The third medium was cartoon line drawings which represented events in the televised narratives. Nine line drawings were produced for each story. Each drawing was on a separate piece of card. An example of these can be seen in Appendix (3).

It was felt that the thematic content of all the programmes would be within the experience of the children and not culturally specific to any one child or group of children.

I noted in Chapter Four that using prompt materials to elicit narratives and particularly through

the use of different media presented me with complicated methodological problems. The problems encountered and my reasons for using this approach were discussed in Chapter Three.

Procedure

The children were divided into two groups. Group one had twelve children and group two had nine. The children in group one were asked to "tell me a story about the pictures." The same request was made for all three media.

Each different medium presented information from different programmes. So that the child would be presented with a televised presentation of one programme, photographs from another programme and drawings which represented a third programme. There was, therefore, no strong thematic drift away from the adventure type story and the characters remained the same across all conditions. The children were given a rest between each of the three narratives.

Each child performed the stories in front of an audience which included myself and a small group of the child's peers who were not taking part in the study.

For the first performance the child was asked to watch a video recording of one of the five minute programmes. The child was then asked immediately afterwards to tell me a story about the pictures. Their performance was recorded using a portable video camera

and deck. The camera was situated behind the audience as if it was part of it.

For the second medium the child was asked to look at the photographs and, again, to tell me a story about the pictures. The photographs were arranged in front of the child on a small table and remained there while the child narrated his or her story. Similarly, for the third medium the drawings were presented to the child on the small table and the child was asked to tell me a story about the pictures. The narratives produced were then recorded.

The same procedure was adopted for group two except that for one of the conditions the photographs were replaced by a televised story followed immediately by a group of line drawings representing aspects of the story that the childen had just seen. All the recorded narratives were later transcribed for analysis.

In Chapter Three I described how transcribing the narratives of deaf children can be not only very time consuming but also quite difficult particularly where the children are not known to the researcher (Griffiths, 1983).

Data analysis Each narrative was analysed according to the situation in which it was produced: television, photograph, cartoon or a combination of television and cartoon, for the incidence of structural features in

each medium. To look at one aspect of the syntactic organisation of the text the use of effective or ineffective referring expressions in the first mention of referents was examined.

A quantitative analysis was also undertaken for differences across narratives. Kendall's coefficient of concordance and Chi-square tests for significance of differences as a function of media were done.

RESULTS

A quantitative analysis of the narratives across the different media revealed significant differences in how much the children said for each particular medium. The children in group one said more when using the line drawings (C) as their prompt material than when using the other two media, photographs (P) or television (T), ($p < 0.01$).

Table 5.9:Differences in totalword score across media: Group One.

Child	(T)	(P)	(C)
1	31	50	72
2	61	63	150
3	30	172	203
4	77	58	84
5	107	71	108
6	91	50	121
7	78	101	81
8	72	79	101
9	190	194	204
10	60	42	138
11	57	42	140
12	320	81	183

When the analysis was repeated with the second group the previous finding was confirmed. The children again said more in response to line drawing material (C) than the televised narrative (T) ($p < 0.01$). A combination of the two media presented one after the other without an interval (TC) did not significantly differ, in terms of word score, from the (C) medium.

Table 5.10: Differences in total word score across media : Group Two

	Medium		
Child	(T)	(C)	(TC)
13	58	138	131
14	72	108	166
15	106	136	99
16	88	115	83
17	56	64	110
18	141	129	113
19	101	104	163
20	32	51	69
21	117	89	116

Analysis of the structure of the narratives across the media was done using two of the features of Labov's narrative model: complicating actions and evaluative structures. These two elements were chosen as being the most important to the development of narrative. The complicating action reveals what is happening. It is the one element that is essential to a narrative.

Labov emphasised the importance of evaluative structures as being the means of making the text worth reporting. The narrator uses evaluation to support and comment on the text, to make what is ambiguous explicit and to comment on the strange, the uncommon and the unexpected. The narratives in group one revealed no differences across the media for complicating actions but in group two the combined media prompt (TC) elicited significantly more than the other two ($p < 0.001$).

Data on the use of evaluative structures across different media revealed that children in both groups used significantly more of these structures in their narratives when the medium was line drawings: group one ($p < 0.02$) and group two ($p < 0.02$).

In group one the televised medium (T) produced 14% of the total number of evaluations, photographs (P) produced 30% and line drawings (C) produced 56% . In group two the figures for (T) and (C) were 7% and 69% respectively.

Analysis of the syntactic structures examined revealed no patterns in either group in the use of connectives across the different media. However, the data on the second intralinguistic feature, the referring expressions, revealed a rather dramatic inability by the two groups across all media to use effective referring expressions. In fact 70% of all the

narratives in the study had no effective referent-introducing forms.

Table 5.11: The use of effective referent-introducing forms

Group(1)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
%	0	8	13	0	0	0	8	0	0	23	0	48

Group(2)	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
%	27	31	25	0	75	0	0	0	21

(Note: Percentage scores are averaged across media)

On the basis of this analysis of the data on the use of effective referent-introducing forms the percentage scores of effective use by each child were averaged according to their degree of hearing loss. A significant pattern emerged which indicated that children with higher average degrees of hearing loss use less effective referent-introducing forms.

Table 5.12: The use of effective referent-introducing forms across hearing loss

Loss	(N)	% effective use					Average
50-59	5	23	48	31	25	75	40.4
60-69	2	13	21				16.75
70-79	4	8	0	27	0		8.75
80-89	2	8	0				4.0
90-99	3	0	0	0			0
100-109	5	0	0	0	0	0	0

(Note: (N)=number of children in each group.
Average= average % effective use for the group.

DISCUSSION

The results of this part of the study support the idea that the medium in which the narrative source is presented to the child significantly influences the production of narrative and that this influence reveals differences that are both qualitative and quantitative.

From what we know about the deaf child's intellectual development we must assume that these differences across media are not attributable to limits in cognitive skills but are a feature of the medium itself or the medium within a particular situation.

The children in this study produced longer texts when the prompt materials were presented as line drawings. There were no noticeable differences between televised narratives and photographs in this respect. When the televised narratives were followed immediately

by a cartoon drawing representation of the same story the texts were equivalent overall to the length of texts produced using the drawings only. One might conclude from this that line drawings are an effective medium in encouraging children to tell stories.

However, the results suggested a number of further questions which might be asked before making any general conclusions about them. Apart from the immediate question of why the deaf children is this study said more in response to cartoon drawings, the converse is also of interest; why did they not respond as well to televised narratives or photographs.

I said above that the differences are attributable, to some extent, to the nature of the medium itself. Evidence from other research indicates that the medium in which a story is presented to a child influences their understanding and recall of such features as actions, figurative language, sequence, character affect and dialogue (Meringoff, 1980).

Meringoff demonstrated that for many of the features recalled television had a distinct advantage over other media and suggested that it was the relative visualisation of a story that influenced which aspects of the content are conveyed more effectively. For example, more actions were recalled from the televised narrative whereas children using picture books as a source attended much more to verbal text in recall.

Television has emerged as one of the important sources of stories for children and I am not aware of any evidence to suggest that deaf children are any less interested in television than hearing children. All the children in this study remarked that watching television was an important part of their leisure activity. It was significant then that the narratives they produced from the televised material compared badly with those produced using line drawings.

The possible reasons for this can, I think, be divided into two main areas: the difficulties that the television medium presents to deaf children and secondly the situation in which television was used as an educational tool in the classroom with these children.

The difficulties that television presents to deaf children generally were discussed in the introdution to this chapter but I think it would be useful to recall some of them here in the light of the results of this part of the study.

Much of the central or thematic structure of the televised narrative is carried verbally. This presents two interelated problems. The events of a televised narrative are presented in complex sequences which move from historical time to the present and future and these sequential moves may be marked linguistically. Some sub-narratives may be entirely carried through

dialogue. Added to this is the rate at which information is presented which allows no time for reflection or repair.

What is attended to in televised narrative is action. Some action sequences may be marked by an increased use of sound effects to draw the attention and heighten the drama. Sound effects may, however, draw attention to action which is incidental to the central theme of the text. The deaf child may therefore pick out action sequences which were incidental to the original text and which cannot easily be developed thematically in their own texts.

write / look / chair walking / see chair / head chair / walk / help please / walking / see head / see who / .... books / brown / walking / children / right / fall over / remember photo / there / finished.

This story was elicited from a televised narrative about Lucy's father taking a photograph of the children. Using this as his source material the child has constructed his own narrative around an action sequence, walking, which is incidental to any potential thematic structure of his own virtual text. The issue is not whether the child has recalled important propositions in the original text but his inability to create his own virtual text from it.

One could argue that this child does not have the linguistic resources to make choices about creating his own text and that he has indeed treated the exercise as a recall task. However, I believe it also has something to do with social practice in the classroom and I discuss this later.

The following story by a child with much more linguistic ability indicates that the televised narrative prompted an implicit assumption in this group that it was indeed a recall task:

There were these children painting on the wall / when they finished they stand straight / then they got dressed up / and they played a game / then they done it wrong and had to do it again / the boy pretended to be a lion / the two girls said help / and then boy helped / the boy fight the lion / then the lion died.

This brief summary leaves motives, causes and outcomes implicit and is more typical of a request to retell rather than to tell a story. The combination of a summarising approach and an attention to information which is incidental to theme may therefore be a factor in the quantitative and qualitative differences across media.

As well as factors associated with the nature of the medium the context of situation is also important

in developing an understanding of the influences or constraints which may be evident in the choice of media. In order to develop an awareness of these influences or constraints with the group of children in this study one has to look at the situations in which the children use television in school.

Watching television in school is quite different from watching it at home. It is an activity with its own rules and expectations. The rules of the situation are that the children do not choose what they see, they do not engage in other activities at the same time, walk away or change channels. The expectations are twofold: firstly, teacher expectations are that the children will learn from the experience and he or she will have a clear idea of what it is that is to be learned and secondly, children's expectations are that either during or after the programme they will be asked to do something which will 'test' their understanding of the content of the programme. Often this will involve asking the children questions about the content.

If we now reconsider the first of the two narratives above in the light of this assumption and predicate the utterances with the sorts of questions that I as their teacher would probably ask then one can see a possible explanation for the syntactic choices made by the child.

Teacher: What was the girl doing in the house?

Child: Write

Teacher: And then what did she do?

Child: Look

Teacher: What was she looking at?

Child: Chair walking / see chair

Teacher: Where was the chair?

Child: Head chair.

The second narrative is typical of the kind of response to a request to tell me the story and is performed with the maximum efficiency of style.

If there are situational constraints on television as a medium used in the classroom then one could assume that there are similar constraints on other media.

The children had had much less experience with using photographs as an educational resource. When phototgraphs were used it was not usually in narrative producing contexts. Instead they were used more often singularly to illustrate 'actions', feelings or occupations. Typical questions may, therefore be of the kind: "What is the boy doing? How does the man feel? Is he angry or sad or happy? or What is the woman doing? What is her job?" Such questions will not usually encourage more than a short sentence in reply: "He is sad. She is angry. He's a policeman." and so on. The photographs used in this study were contact prints

taken from the televised narrative 'off screen'. They are very difficult to sequence without knowledge of the original text.

It is likely then that the children will have responded to some of the photographs, if not all of them, as individual pictures. In the following text, elicited using photographs, one can see how these constraints may operate:

girl walking dress / other one dress / all and hide / they looking face / box gloves gloves / box open / everybody pick it up / and that photograph / and fighting / and they fall over / man very angry / boy pretend / hide under tree / and fighting / lot of fighting / .... falling down / two girls frightened.

The deictic reference to 'that photograph' also suggests that the child is addressing each one in turn. This process is slightly clearer in this example, also elicited using photographs:

The children paint on the wall / the girl is writing his letters / the girl is carrying the chair / the boy is carrying the both chair / painting on the wall / the children look at the letters / the boy is carry the cupboard / the little girl is fetch monkey want to home shirt / but little girl skipping up / the man come /

the children stay there / the man quickly quickly the man / the children watch are laughing / the man does fall over.

In view of the media and situational constraints on the use of photographs it was a difficult task for the children to construct a narrative from this material. The constraints on the cartoon line drawings were quite different from the other two media. I had drawn them to represent the televised narratives and in doing so had tried to indicate a sequence of events. The children had had some experience of using line drawings in the classroom to assist their narrative development.

The media constraints were evident in that the children had to imply movement, dialogue and elapse of time but the situational constraints would be less evident. The children were thus able to exercise more choice about the structure and content of this narrative than through the other media. The presence of the picture sequence during the performance of the narrative meant that the children did not have to remember the original text. It allowed the children to use some forms deictically rather than entirely within the linguistic context.

Having noted the quantitative differences, albeit with some notes of caution about attributing too much

to the nature of the medium itself, I now want to cosider the qualitative differences in narratives across media.

Qualitative differences between narratives

The use of complicating actions was unaffected by the use of different media except where the two media were combined. This produced a significant increase in the use of this feature. This was possibly the result of the child having access to more information about the original text.

In one sense the cartoons were an interactive resource for the televised narrative. This supports the conclusions of researchers into the use of television as an educational medium for deaf children which ,as I noted above, suggests that review and interaction with the medium increases processing skills.

The children showed significant patterns in the use of evaluative structures which indicated that in this respect the narratives elicited from cartoons were much more likely to contain external comments and a sense that the child was telling a narrative that they wanted you to hear. This use of more sociocentric communication is an important feature of the differences between the narratives produced through different media.

There were no significant differences between

media in the use of syntactic devices, although some differences across hearing loss were revealed. No pattern emerged in the use of connectives across media and type token ratios were not significant for vocabulary ($p<0.2$) or verbs ($p<0.4$).

The analysis of effective referent-introducing forms revealed a general lack of ability particularly in the group of children with the greatest average hearing losses. Hickmann's study of a group of children of the same age range as this group indicated that 10 years old hearing children are using effective referent-introducing forms correctly 89% of the time. Even at seven years the percentage of effective forms is almost 60% and the four year olds in her study were achieving levels of 36%. Only two children from the deaf group of 21 children achieved levels above that of hearing four year olds and only one deaf child achieved a level above that of a hearing seven year old.

This example (1) illustrates a narrative from a ten years old boy with an average hearing loss of 57dB, in which many of the referents are effectively introduced:

(1) There was four / there was one girl playing about with dress / then three other boys came / they said what have you got / and she said clothes we can

have some fun / so they got them on and this boy got like this long glove and it round his neck....

From this we can easily infer that there are four children and that three of them are boys and that the boys asked the girl what she had and that they all got dressed up.

Example (2) shows the beginning of a narrative where all the characters are mentioned for the first time with a definite form (the boy, the girl, the policeman). Note that all the inanimate forms are introduced without an article (shop, pigs [they are model pigs], money, house, bell) :

(2) The boy going shop / the shop open / the boy looks at pigs / lots of pigs / four pigs / the girl sad / and the boy sad / the boy happy / pigs / the boy money / the girl writing book / the girl happy / pig give it boy / chair everybody / the girl writing and the boy / the boy give it boy happy / girl holding up gone money / run police house / and the girl press bell / and the boy the bell bell / the policeman whats wrong / writing and boy happy / finished.

Example (1) and the following example (3) illustrate two different levels of skill in using

effective forms. In this example it is uncertain what the activity is although we can infer that there are four children involved and that one of them is a girl. It illustates the use of noun phrases without a determiner for the first mention of all forms, both animate and inanimate (girl, boy, hat, flower, man):

(3) Girl hold box / and boy three boy hurray / girl hold down / floor / and girl put on play / boy hat / two hat / and girl girl flower / girl down / boy stab / girl arrgh / boy shoe / girl talk / man shout shout / and girl shout you / boy cry fall down / two boys down / boy girl girl boy.

All the referents are highly presupposed and coreferential expressions, the devices which maintain reference, are also heavily presupposed and keep the ineffective referent forms. In interpreting the text one has to assume that the referent is maintained unless qualified. So that the 'girl' holding the box is assumed to be the same girl to 'hold down', 'put on play', to say 'arghh' etc. The boys present a more complicated problem of interpretation because there are three of them. References to 'boy', therefore can be to any one of three. Some attempt at self correction is noted in 'and boy three boy' but one ineffective form

is substituted for another. Example (4) also illustrates this process:

(4) .....come the boy / walking box / help box / .... put it tidy / little come / little girl come .

In conclusion, the evidence of this part of the study would suggest that the medium in which resource materials are used to elicit narratives from this group of childen influenced their production in quantitative and qualitative terms. Cartoon line drawings had a significant advantage over the other media in some important respects such as the use of evaluative structures.

However, as well as the relative advantages or constraints of any one medium it is probable that there are also situational constraints in the way the media are used , in the nature of the task itself and the statuses and roles of the participants. Such situation-dependant constraints should urge caution in generalising about the narrative abilities of these children on the basis of narratives elicited through using resource materials from a single medium source. It is more possible to say on the basis of this study that, despite a knowledge of the elements of narrative structure, attempts by this group of deaf children to create coherent texts are impaired by a lack of ability

to rely on strictly linguistic means to organise their own discourse and to use language systematically as its own context.

This raises questions about the communicative competence of these children and their ability to understand others and each other in discourse situations generally and in storytelling situations in particular. It is this aspect of their narrative abilities that I go on to consider in Chapter Six.

CHAPTER SIX

A PROBLEM OF UNDERSTANDING

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CHAPTER SIX

A PROBLEM OF UNDERSTANDING

INTRODUCTION

Storytelling and the retelling of stories is a social activity in which the 'performer', or storyteller, and the 'audience', or listener, must share tacit agreements that the content will be relatively understandable and that it will obey certain 'rules' particular to that form of discourse.

These 'rules' are to do with how any narrative may be produced and interpreted. The 'rules' of the narrative performance are problematic to our understanding of discourse. In previous chapters I have discussed the nature of the narrative event in terms of its purpose and structure but there are also rules of interaction and performance. There is no procedure in narrative events that ensures that what the perfomer says is heard and understood by the audience. Indeed the statement 'I understand you' is, at best, a statement of intent.

When either the performer or listener, or both, are deaf then it is probable, given the severe effects of deafness on communication, that the rules of interaction are even more problematic. However, there

is an integrity about human communication which compels us to give an interpretation. Wittgenstein argued that communication is such an integral part of the life of any community that even the most incomprehensible utterances are treated with respect (Wittgenstein, 1972).

In a paper on the problematic nature of communication in an intercultural setting Liberman described this respect given to what he described as 'strange discourse' in a way which as a teacher of the deaf I readily concurred. He described it as having "the remarkable character of waging herculean struggles of eyes and ears and sense while displaying the most matter-of-fact acceptance of its hard won discoveries." Such a character, he says "is necessary and critical to the smooth and orderly development of communication" (Liberman, 1984).

At issue here is the textual use of language to ensure coherence, not only within the text itself but within the situation of the text. What is needed is a framework of analysis that allows us to describe relationships, where they exist, between the semantic and liguistic system on the one hand and the context of situation on the other. One such framework was proposed by Halliday (1978).

He defined three macro-dimensions of discourse which he called field, mode and tenor and which are the

situational determinants of text. In Chapter Five I discussed how the situational dependant variables such as the medium of the source materials and task can influence the production of narrative.

The term field describes in general terms the nature of the social activity and the topic but it also involves the relationship between language and knowledge or culture. Tenor describes the comparative status and roles of storyteller and listener which determines levels of formality and control within the situation. The mode describes the medium of the text, whether it is spoken or written, planned or impromptu, and whether the relation between the storyteller and listener is one of immediacy or detached.

Related to this is the concept of communicative competence in narrative discourse. It combines field, mode and tenor by recourse to a required number of skills in the ability to produce and interpret discourse and to make adjustments according to the status of different listeners and different situations (Ervin Tripp, 1979). Also, in the ability to take into account cultural differences, to assume what is not known to the listener and provide adequate information (Cosgrove and Patterson, 1977) and to acknowledge the rules of the narrative genre having already prepared the way either with a stylised opening or 'abstract' or an orientation to identify the time, place, main

characters etc.

The deaf child's impaired ability to understand the linguistic demands of others could mean that he or she lacks ability in producing and interpreting the discourse adjustments for the status of the listener or the situation. The functional effectiveness of deaf children's language generally, has received very little attention from researchers compared with the number of studies of language acquisition. These pragmatic aspects of the hearing child's language have been acknowledged by researchers for some time (Cazden, 1970; Hymes, 1964; Stubbs, 1983; Romaine, 1984) and it is suggested that this potentially very important area of the deaf child's linguistic ability should be similarly acknowledged.

Before 1981 and the study of the referential communication skills of deaf children from different educational environments by Breslaw, Griffiths, Wood and Howarth (1981) I am aware of only two studies relevant to this topic by Hoemann (1972) and Schlesinger (1971). In both these studies the mode of communication was sign language.

Hoemann looked at the communicative competence of a group of eight and eleven years old children. He concluded that the childen's language was sufficiently complex to express the demands of the task and that the children's relatively poor performance was due to an

experiential deficit which meant that they did not have the required knowledge of formal communication structures or rules. The theoretical object that is of main concern in looking at narrative discourse is a system of rules for producing narratives that can generate an indefinite range of narrative events which can then be performed and understood by someone with the required knowledge.

In the 1981 study of children aged nine years on average Breslaw et al (1981) concluded that "where deaf children possess an adequate and familiar vocabulary to fulfil a task, there is no evidence of a communicative handicap not also shared by hearing children of similar age." The referential communication tasks in this study, however, made only limited linguistic demands on the children. In the first part of the study children worked in pairs. One child would choose one of a set of blocks. The blocks varied according to size, shape and colour. The child then instructed his partner, who was out of view, to do the same. Deaf and hearing children performed equally well in terms of how often the correct block was chosen at the first attempt. However, there was a significant difference between the two. Hearing children gave sufficient information for their partners to make a correct choice in 39% of their initial utterances, while the deaf children did so in 62% of theirs. One possible explanation for this is the

deaf child's need to gain as much information before looking to the task and away from the source of information, unlike the hearing child who can do the two things simultaneously.

The second part of the study, which used a group of children whose average age was ten, was intended to elicit more natural language from them than the previous study had done. The children again worked in pairs and each was given a copy of the same book. One child had to describe a picture in the book in sufficient detail for the partner to be able to find exactly the same picture.

What interested me about the findings of this particular study was the differences between the deaf and the hearing descriptions of the pictures. The deaf children attended to actions in their descriptions far more than hearing children. A later study by Griffiths (1983) with fifty deaf children, using similar materials and procedure to the study by Breslaw et al, found that pictures which presented only a limited action were found to be more 'difficult' to describe.

Other interesting details of the study were the examples of the children's communicative resourcefulness and determination to use whatever variations in the mode of communication necessary to maintain the purpose of the activity. One example of this quoted by Griffiths (p.207) is the child who

described a map as a "where you live". As well as such verbal innovations she also noted that many children used nonverbal communication where words failed them and also, like the children in my own studies, because they preferred to do so. Griffiths noted that the children used sign language more often between themselves than in their communications with teachers and that they used a variety of sign, gesture and mime. In one case the child imitated the posture of the man in the picture and that was sufficient for the other child to correctly identify the picture.

In another context Romaine describes the narrative of a ten years old child in which she quotes herself and others directly by using the present tense to refer to past events, the conversational historical present, while shifting back and forth to change scenes and perspectives in adopting the role of various participants (Romaine, 1984). The girl also uses kinesic markers such as motions and gestures to accompany the narrative. Wolfson (1982) described such a story as a 'performed narrative'. The notion of a performed narrative is very familiar to me in observing the intercommunication strategies of deaf children . One point which is mentioned by Griffiths, and noted above, is paticularly relevant to what has been, for teachers and researchers, something of a dilemma.

The dilemma is that interactions between deaf

children seem to be fluent, animated and extensive though largely unintelligible to hearing listeners whereas their communication with teachers can be just the opposite. Some of the reasons for this have already been discussed above but in the context of telling stories or 'performing' narratives there is another possible reason.

Romaine suggests that the status relations of narrator and listener strongly affect the right to perform and that 'rules' about this interaction are inherent in the activity. The tenor of the discourse therefore between the deaf child and teacher or other adult may be such that the child feels that they are aware of a 'right to perform' and the constraints it imposes in any narrative interaction.

Although the children in this study were educated in an oral environment I became increasingly aware of the need to take note of the nonverbal features of the children's communication if I was going to be able to offer a fuller picture of their narrative abilities. The nonverbal aspects of the deaf child's discourse have been largely ignored by researchers possibly because, as a controversial topic, it has tended to produce more heat than light but mainly I suggest because it is such an incredibly difficult area.

The fact that pre-lingually deaf children's language is largely unintelligible to hearing listeners

(Conrad, 1979) makes any analysis of communicative competence very difficult, especially in 'naturalistic' situations. In one sense, in looking at the narrative of deaf children the problem is not to 'explain' what the rules are which govern the production and performance of narratives but to actually discover what they are. Whereas Breslaw et al (1981) and Griffiths (1983) acknowledged this problem they confined themselves to the study of oral communiacation.

In this study, which looks at much larger units of text I begin to look at the issue of signed features of communication within stories in preparation for a fuller analysis in chapter seven but the focus of interest in this chapter will be the 'other half' of the narrative social dyad, the listener.

Assuming that the functional tenor of the narratives in this study is one of entertainment rather than an attempt to persuade or instruct then the listener's role is to listen and enjoy and also to make sense of the narrative, to interpret it within the context of that situation.

So far I have played two roles, or perhaps more, as listener and also as researcher. In my role as researcher my interpretation of any one of the sixty three narratives already considered will, to some extent, depend on the knowledge I bring to the task and experience of previous texts. This merges with my

understanding of the original text as a listener in another situation at another time. It is possible in the immediate context of the production of the narrative, as listener, and the distanced context, as researcher, to produce many virtual texts from the original particularly when interpreting the narratives of deaf children where structural and syntactic uses can make the task of interpretation highly problematic. However, the fact that any one of the sixty three texts already considered can be interpreted in a number of ways is not, I think, indicative of the adequacy of the text except in cases where the purpose, meaning and information conveyed is so limited that an interpretation is impossible. Indeed it has been argued that the narrative is composed as it is received (Iser, 1978).

The process of understanding narrative can, therefore also be thought of as a text-making process. It is the nature of this process that I now want to investigate within the context of what I called the narrative social dyad. I am looking therefore at the ability of listeners to 'receive and compose' narratives and some of the aspects of narrative that inform the process of understanding.

The listener in receiving the narrative uses a repertoire of linguistic and cognitive skills in an

interplay between human knowledge and discourse. For example, some of the ways in which human beings organise their knowledge have been represented by terms such as schemas, frames and scripts. Knowledge of the world is an important part of what children bring to the text processing situation as in this example where the exophoric reference to 'Jaws' depends for its interpretation on the child's knowledge of the fictitious characterisation of a shark in a film of the same name: "One even in Saturday grandma Marie is put the television on to watch Jaws."

Lack of knowledge may make a text more difficult to understand, particularly if it prevents a bridging inference to be made. A more serious failure to comprehend may arise from ignorance of the context in which the text is intended to be interpreted. If the topic of the narrative is not understood then much of the knowledge that could be used to elaborate what is being said cannot be made available (Dooling and Lachman, 1975; Bransford and McCarrell, 1974).

The knowledge and use of other referring forms, co-referential skills, the ability to maintain reference, and prosodic clues are also as important to the interpretation of narrative as to its production. The effective use of referent introducing forms was discussed in Chapter Five and will be considered again in the 'performance' narratives in this chapter with

further discussion on the child's coreferential skills. The prosodic features of language, intonation, stress, tone of voice and other paralinguistic signals, have traditionally been viewed, in syntactic theory, as mainly adding to or qualifying referential information assumed to be already specified through syntax and the semantic structure.

In the past decade, however, some researchers have argued for a much wider acknowledgement of the importance of prosody as a device to accomplish cohesion in discourse (Gumperz et al,1984). Gumperz argues that prosody is crucial to the interpretation of what is intended in a message. Moreover, they suggest that prosodic signalling is culturally specific. If cohesion in spoken discourse relies heavily on prosody, as Gumperz suggests, then this raises yet another question about the coherence of the deaf child's narrative.

Further research in this aspect of the discourse of deaf children would, therefore, add to our understanding of their communication strategies. I did not examine this aspect of their narratives because of the difficulties imposed by severe hearing loss on the intonational features of deaf children's language and the problem of deciding between intentional stress patterns and distortions of intonation that are a factor of the inability to hear one's own voice.

In this chapter I am looking particularly at children's understanding of thematic content with reference to a number of main story elements. The notion of thematic cohesion (Bennett, 1978) suggests that elements in a text must be connected in such a way that they develop the theme of the narrative. Cohesive devices enable the process of interpretation by drawing upon the narrator's syntactic, semantic and sociocultural knowledge.

In Chapter Five I discussed the interaction of these three aspects of the child's linguistic skills in terms of their ability to make syntactic choices that reflect their semantic intention. This ability has implications for the social and cultural aspects of communication which, in turn, affects the child's knowledge of the skills which relies on conventionalised expectations about what must be made explicit and what can be left implicit in any discourse.

Choices about what must be made explicit implies a listener and a social situation in which narrator and listener 'meet'. The listener too makes choices based on the same linguistic and cognitive skills in order to interpret the thematic content.

Analysis of deaf children's organisation and written recall of narratives suggested that their use of syntactic rules to effect this are less proficient

than hearing children (Sarachan-Deily, 1982; Sarachan-Deily and Love, 1974) but that deaf childen are able to process semantic information to produce text in similar ways to hearing children. Sarachan-Deily also reported that deaf students were as likely to retain the overall semantic content when recalling written sentences as hearing children.

Studies of deaf children's linguistic abilities at the level of the text have been concerned almost exclusively with comprehension of written narratives in reading research (McGill-Franzen and Gormley, 1980; Israelite, 1981; Ewoldt, 1981, Gaines, Mandler and Bryant, 1981).

Gaines, Mandler and Bryant compared the immediate and delayed recall of stories by deaf and hearing children with a mean age of 14 years 5 months. They used three stories from Mandler (1978): one normal prose story and two which were deliberately confused. The results revealed no significant differences between the two groups in the amount of recall of story propositions on the normal story but that the deaf subjects had significantly higher amounts of recall for both the confused stories.

In her study of the linguistic competence of deaf children Griffiths also noted this tendancy for deaf children to continue to attempt task items at a level where their hearing peers would not (Griffiths, 1983).

Gaines, Mandler and Bryant suggested that the children in their study were using "a broad reconstructive 'top-down' schematic approach" to reading. They could recall the overall meanin of the narratives or the 'gist' and a similar number of propositions to the hearing children but in terms of general accuracy they made many more semantic errors.

It has been suggesed that the semantic content of narrative can be represented as propositions and inferences. Propositions are those elements of the story that are stated explicitly in the text (Fredericksen, 1975). Propositions by themselves, however, cannot fully or adequately describe a narrative. To explain this inherent inabilty to analyse text purely in terms of its propositional content inference based models of discourse were developed. The model proposed by Fredericksen (1977) is typical as is based on the assumption that all the information needed for the understanding of a text is not explicit in the text itself. Other knowledge systems must also be used to interpret text.

Fredericksen defined inference as a fundamental psychological process in discourse processing. Inferences themselves he defined as new information generated from the network of propositions available through previous discourse, content or knowledge of the world. Scinto (1983) warned that too strong an emphasis

on inference as the basic psychological process in discourse production or comprehension ignores the amount of information and structure present in the actual discourse

To assume that text processing is a vast guessing game, he suggests, leads one to conclude that the text is a highly inefficient communication system, which is an untenable proposition. However, the importance of the inferential aspect of communication cannot be ignored either. The ability to use linguistic and cognitive knowledge to go beyond literal meaning is important in communication (Bransford and McCarrell, 1974).

Understanding goes beyond what is explicit in the text. Indeed the performer of the text assumes this particularly as one moves more towards poetic use of language (Britton, 1970). The purpose of this part of the study is to investigate the propositional and semantic reorganisation of spoken texts performed by deaf and hearing childen. The study compares the responses of similarly aged deaf and hearing children to the spoken texts.

Subjects

Twenty four children served as subjects for this part of the study. There were two groups. One group of 12 deaf children and, the other, a group of 12 hearing children. The whole group contained 13 boys and 11 girls. The average hearing loss of the deaf children was 83dB. The average age of the groups was 12.4 years.

All the children attended the same school as day pupils. The hearing children were in the same tutorial groups as the deaf childen and had had some awareness training, as part of their normal curriculum, on communicating with deaf people.

Materials:

Two stories were used for this study. The medium used to present the narratives was cartoon line drawings. In view of the results revealed in Chapter Five this medium was felt to be the most appropriate stimulus. They were typical of the kinds of resource materials used to elicit narratives in language work with the deaf children. The story boards were scored for main story elements judged to be essential to the retelling of the story. Each story has 17 main elements. Colleagues who had also used this medium were asked to score the texts for propositional information.

The level of agreement was high. The main elements, therefore, are considered to represent the explicit information of the stories. The original cartoon drawings shown to the children can be seen in Appendix (4).

The Cartoon Drawings:

Story One:

Story one is about an attempt to mend a television which has lost its picture and how that is eventually achieved.

Story Two:

Story two is about a dog's adventures while being taken for a walk.

Table 6.13 The Main Story Elements of Story One

(1) The woman is looking at the television
(2) The television is not working
(3) The aerial is not plugged in
(4) The woman tells a man about it
(5) The man thinks what to do
(6) He brings a hammer and a screwdriver
(7) He tries to mend the television
(8) He is going to hit the television with a hammer
(9) The woman stops him
(10) She brings a repair manual
(11) They read the manual
(12) A boy walks towards the television
(13) He picks up the aerial lead
(14) He pushes it in place
(15) The television works

(16) The boy sits watching television
(17) The man and woman are surprised.

Table 6.14 The Main Story Elements of Story Two

(1) The dog is in his basket
(2) He is thinking about going for a walk
(3) Two children are watching television
(4) The dog brings his lead to the children
(5) He takes the lead to the man and woman
(6) They are busy washing the pots
(7) He takes his lead to a boy
(8) The boy takes him for a walk
(9) The dog sees a cat
(10) The dog chases the cat
(11) The cat runs up a tree
(12) The dog runs after it
(13) The boy gets stuck in the tree
(14) The dog and cat come down
(15) The man brings a ladder to rescue the boy
(16) The boy gets told off
(17) The dog is back in his basket.

From these original cartoon drawings six narratives were elicited from three deaf children and three hearing children. These performances were then used as the stimulus material in the study.

Performance One: Deaf child
Average hearing loss = 108dB
Story One

Performance Two: Hearing child
Story two

Performance Three: Deaf child
Average hearing loss = 58dB
Story One

Performance Four: Hearing child
Story two

Performance Five: Deaf child
Average hearing loss = 53dB

Performamce Six: Hearing child
Story Two

The protocols of each performance are reproduced in Appendix (5).

Procedure:

The six performers were asked to tell the story represented by the cartoon as fully as they could. Care was taken to ensure that the deaf children understood the task. The cartoons were placed on a table in front of the children and remained there until the child had completed the task.

The presence of the picture sequence during the narrative performance meant that the children were not

required to remember any of the content of the original narrative picture sequences. This allowed the children the choice of using some forms deictically rather than strictly within the linguistic context. Only one example was noted, where the narrator of performance four stops the narrative to point to one frame of the story in : and the woman smacking her child. The woman has no previous referent although a bridging reference to 'the owner's wife' is possible.

The performances were recorded on a video camera and deck. The recording was then used in the next stage. The six performances were scored for their main story elements, with a high level of agreement again.

Eighteen children were asked to watch the recorded performances on a video monitor. Each child watched the recorded narrative of a deaf child and the recorded narrative of a hearing child. The children watched the narratives alone and immediately afterwards were asked to recall as much of the story as they could. Again, care was taken to ensure that the deaf children understood the task. The recall protocols were recorded using a portable video recorder and deck and were later transcribed for analysis.

Data Analysis:

The purpose of this part of the study was to examine the understanding of narrative and the possible

relationship between understanding and structure and coherence. Each of the six narrative performances were analysed for their structural features, lexical items and coherence.

The recall protocols were analysed for lexical items and the number of main story elements of the performance accurately recalled.

RESULTS

The Performance Narratives:

The length of the narratives produced by the deaf children showed a marked variation compared with those produced by the hearing children. Narratives 1,3 and 5 were produced by deaf children:

Table 6.15 Narrative length of the six performances

Narrative	1	2	3	4	5	6
Words	43	115	106	124	231	139

Differences were also noted between the six narratives for the inclusion of main elements of the original cartoon line drawing.

Table 6.16 Inclusion of the main elements in the six performance narratives.

Narrative	Main Elements																
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1	*	*		*		*	*										
2		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
3	*	*		*		*	*	*	*			*			*	*	*
4		*							*	*	*	*	*			*	*
5	*	*			*		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
6	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*	*

The narratives were also analysed for the presence of narrative structure according to Labov's model:

Table 6.17 Elements of narrative structure in the six performances

Narrative elements	Performance					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Abstract	0	0	0	0	0	0
Orientation	0	*	0	0	*	*
Evaluation	*	0	*	0	*	0
Resolution	0	*	0	*	*	*
Coda	*	0	0	0	0	0

Evaluative structures were included in the deaf narratives only, including one in performance one, one in performnce three and four in performance five.

Table 6.18 The use of effective referent-introducing forms

Performance	1	2	3	4	5	6
%	0	83	0	17	33	66

This conforms to the earlier finding in this study about deaf children's poor ability in the use of

effective referent-introducing forms, but it is also noticeable that one of the hearing performances has a score of only 17% indicating that this child probably has difficulty with the use of this aspect of the reference system.

The recall protocols were analysed for the number of main elements accurately recalled.

Table 6.19 Main story elements recalled as a percentage of the total

Child	H/D	Performance					
		1(D)	2(H)	3(D)	4(H)	5(D)	6(H)
25	H					32	88
26	H					50	82
27	H	0	40				
28	H			18	60		
29	H			6	40		
30	H	0	40				
31	H	0	55				
32	H					46	76
33	H			18	27		
34	D	38	0				
35	D		24	0			
36	D	83	0				
37	D					4	6
38	D					4	6
39	D			6	0		
40	D	66	0				
41	D			0	0		
42	D					25	12

(Note: H = Hearing, D = Deaf)

The most successful dyads were the hearing child - hearing child, although the average score was still only 47%. The deaf audiences were marginally better at recalling the main elements from other deaf children than were hearing children in the same situation.

Recall was weakest in the protocols of the deaf children who had watched a performance by a hearing child. They scored an avearage of only 3% which included 6 zero scores.

Table 6.20 Elements recalled in each dyad according to hearing status

D -- H	D -- D	H -- D	H -- H
0	38	0	40
0	83	0	40
0	66	0	55
18	24	0	18
18	6	0	6
6	0	0	18
32	4	6	88
50	4	6	82
46	25	12	76
Percentage score (Mean) 19	28	3	47

(Note: D -- H means Deaf performance and Hearing child recall)

DISCUSSION

The results of this part of the investigation support the claim that situation dependant variations can have an impact on the production and comprehension of narratives and that caution is required in making assumptions about a child's narrative ability on the basis of a particular performance in a particular, sometimes highly problematic, situation.

Researchers have questioned the idea that verbal recall is , by itself, an adequate measure of a child's understanding (Dintenfass, 1983; Stein and Glenn, 1977), although some researchers looking at the child's memory have drawn conclusions about understanding from recall tasks (Mandler and Johnson, 1977).

Stein and Glenn (1977) suggested that the use of probe questions following a child's recall often revealed understanding of much more material that have not been revealed in spontaneous spoken production. Certainly, children may be reluctant or unable to say as much as they have understood and, conversely, they may recall and say items of the text that they do not fully understand.

So the question of understanding and what aspects of the text are understood, and how, are far more complex than a simple recall task can reveal, even with the support of probe material or questions. Statistical evidence from recall analysis must also, threfore, be examined with caution particularly with small samples like the one in my own study where one child's response can make a significant impact on the whole.

Acknowledging its limitations, the recall task is nevertheless a useful platform to create hypotheses about the child's understanding which can then be examined further in more 'naturalistic' settings using

spontaneously produced narratives. In view of the large methodological difficulties in pursuing that approach I decided to use a simple recall task for convenience with this group of children and to follow this with a more intensive study of one child's spontaneously produced narratives at a later time (Chapter Seven).

The Performances:

There were six performances including three performances by hearing children and three by deaf children. It was assumed that performance one would be the most problematic in the recall situation. Only 29% of the main story elements were included in this child's oral narrative. Much of the narrative was 'performed' using mime and sign with some spoken lexical items.

Like the deaf children in the media study (Chapter Five) this child also ended his narrative with the coda 'finished'. There was more evidence of bilingual interference in the use of structures such as 'nothing open think broken' where the text adopts a typically signed syntactic form. The narrative includes dialogue but there is no indication of a clear separation between the reported message and the narrative message in the immediate situation of the spoken text.

(1) mother look television / nothing open

think broken / I tell father / mother please mend it television please .

Similarly, Hickmann (1985) found that four year old hearing children tended to focus their narratives on the participants rather than explicitly on their speech but that when they did focus on the participant's speech they often used frames inconsistently or not at all.

There is further confusion by reporting narrated speech in the first second and third persons which use highly presupposing referent forms. Example (1) indicates that 'mother' is possibly the anaphoric referent for the 'I' in 'I tell father' and thus the source of 'please mend it television please'.

Example (2) from the same narrative introduces a problem with the use of the first person 'I' in:

(2) oh dear can't mend television I can't I'm sorry.

The 'I' in this structure could be an anaphoric reference to 'mother' who cannot mend the television and therefore explains this fact to the father. Conversely, it could be the father who has tried to mend it, having been asked to do so and cannot. The 'I' later becomes 'you' and the tone becomes imperative.

(3) right you must mend you mend / go father with screwdriver and hammer.

If the cataphoric referent for 'you' in example (3) is father then the 'I' who cannot do it is now the 'you' who must.

The hearing children's response to this was predictably poor. Despite the fact that they could not accurately recall any of the main elements of performance one they nevertheless offered an interpretation or abstract

(4) a television / the boy is watching a television / turned it off / and started reading a book / then he started saying something about far away or something far away / he said something else about him falling asleep.

(5) it's about a mother and father and a television that's all

(6) there ws a boy / he broke something / nothing else.

Examples (4) and (6) illustrate that even with such a limited recall Bartlett's (1932) assertion that the child's knowledge of the world or their interpretation of what could or should have happened influences the text.

Performance three, also by a deaf child, included 94% of the main elements of the original cartoon line drawing and had seventeen main elements of its own.

However, its fate in terms of the recall protocols of the hearing children who responded to it was again poor, with two of the children recalling three of the seventeen elements and one child who recalled only one element. Again the focus of the recalls were on people and relationships between them. For example, 'it was about a father' and also 'about a father ... and a boy'.

> (7) well it's about a man whose trying to mend something / I think its a television / and it can't quite mend things / and his wife or this lady tells him to stop stop it whatever he's mending / and erm he's trying to think / he's mending the back of the television / erm he can't quite get the pieces together / and that's why the lady's telling him to give up.

In example (7) the child has created his own virtual text (Iser, 1978). He has recovered the 'gist' of the narrative but in doing so has created something entirely plausible and an acceptable interpretation for him. This tendancy to use one's own view of the world to explain narratives and other events means that verbatim recall is often poor but that the 'gist' of the passage is rarely lost.

Bartlett developed the concept of a 'schema' to

explain the 'gist' or macro-structure. He noted that "response to a general scheme, form, order and arrangement of material seems to be dominant, both in initial reception and in subsequent remembering." (Bartlett, 1932).

The fact that performance three was so poorly recalled implies that, despite the number of explicit propositions in it, it was not coherent. An analysis of the text revealed that there were no effective referent-introducing forms and, furthermore, that co-reference must be implied. The formal referent 'the lady' is maintained using the definite article until a mixed form 'mother' is introduced. As 'mother' is introduced so 'father' becomes 'the man'.

Sacks (1972) in an often quoted work on the analysibility of children's narratives illustrated some of the semantic aspects of cohesion in a minimal text: 'the baby cried. The mommy picked it up'. In order to acknowledge that the narrator intends the two sentences as a sequence and not two, separate pieces of information then 'mommy' and 'baby' must be identified as parts of the lexical domain 'family'. Such 'categorisation devices' applied to the example (7) above suggests that 'mother' and 'father' are also part of the lexical domain 'family' and are, therefore, related. The noun substitutes 'lady' and 'man' are part of different and much broader lexical domains and,

therefore, introduce an element of ambiguity, particularly because of their mode of introduction into the narrative.

One can see a further example of this device in example (7) where the child uses his knowledge of the domain 'family' to assume relationships: 'it's about a man .... and his wife or this lady'. In the absence of any further evidence about the relationship the reference to 'wife' is abandoned in favour of the more anonymous term 'lady' in : 'and that's why the lady's telling him to give up.'

As with performance one the important prosodic signalling in performance three is severely distorted by the child's deafness thus further impairing coherence. The evidence for this is only recoverable from the video and is not marked in transcription.

Performance five is, according to Labov's narrative structure model, completely developed. It begins with an orientation and an evaluative structure ('that's her favourite programme'), develops through complicating actions and comes to a delightful resolution with grandma telling the boy that he is 'very brave boy in the whole world'. There is an effective use of additive, causal and adversative connectives. The referent 'grandma Marie' is entirely appropriate and develops the character.

The introduction of the 'TV mender' is

presuppositional but it is difficult to define it as an ineffective referent because conventionally such a person may indeed be introduced with a definite article as would the postman or the milkman. It is essentially an exophoric referent I suggest. The reference is maintained using the pronomial 'he'. Similarly, 'the little boy' is presuppositionally introduced but the reference is also maintained with an appropriate use of the pronomial 'he'. Confusion with the pronomial reference to the 'TV mender' is avoided by the use of the determiner + noun to frame dialogue: 'then the man said oh you're very clever'.

The child indicates very clearly throughout this narrative the separation between the reported message and the narrative message. The use of intensifiers heightens the drama of the narrative and a succession of embedded evaluative structures express the emotion of the drama.

The hearing children's response to this narrative was clearly more successful in terms of the number of main elements recalled and compared well with the recall protocols of hearing children responding to another hearing child. As well as the structural completeness of this narrative, many of the prosodic features were intact and the nature of the evaluative features made it highly reportable.

The deaf children's recall protocols for

performance one showed a dramatic difference to those elicited from the hearing children. The number of main elements recalled by the deaf children was 62% of the total elements averaged across the three protocols. The number of main elements included in performance one was, however, small and this is possibly a factor in the high score of elements recalled.

What is more remarkable is that he recall protocols include far more main elements than were present in the spoken narrative performance. Indeed, hey accurately reflect the 'gist' of the original story board.

Two conclusions can be drawn from this, excluding prior knowledge of the materials which was impossible. Firstly, that performance one was, in terms of the number of main story elements included from the original, much richer than had at first been thought. Secondly, that the part of the narrative which was 'performed' in sign and mime not only included main elements of the story but effectively communicated them

Furthermore, the recall protocols suggest that the signed narrative was as semantically rich as the spoken narrative. Since the child supported his entire narrative with sign language it raises the question of whether, in this performance, sign was the predominant mode in communicating semantic content.

The protocols reveal that, as with the hearing

children, the deaf children use social conventions and world knowledge to elaborate the text in order to reconstruct what might have happened. This would seem to support the concept of a 'schema' or that the child is attempting to create something plausible, as in example (8):

(8) but the mother was so angry with it television she used a hammer and banged the television.

At this point the recall itself becomes a performance as the child evaluates his text with this example of suspending the action to comment:

(9) I thought she was going to smash it to piece.

From the recalled narratives it is revealed that 'the boy' in the story was given the name Tom in performance one. Two of the protocols use this name for the boy. This further suggests that the child also used finger spelling in his performance. The detail of the information communicated by the signed language is indicated by this example (10):

(10) Tom know hole push / laugh television laugh / mother come

Here is the crux of the narrative explained with great efficiency and recalled in all three protocols. Tom knew that the aerial must be pushed into the hole

and, fortunately, so did the narrator.

The recall protocols for performance three revealed that the deaf children had no greater facility in understanding this performance than the hearing audience. This is despite the fact that two of the protocols easily exceeded the length of the performance narrative. It suggests that the original story is not the major determiner of the amount of recall. Bartlett (1932) observed in his study that the story was considerably shortened in recall. Mandler and Johnson (1977) noted that the proportion of words recalled in their study ranged from 0.48 to 0.80 of the original.

The thirty six protocols in this study were also shorter in length than the original performance except in six instances. Three of these have already been explained in that they were the deaf children's responses to performance one where they were responding to signed content also.

The other three protocols reveal an interesting phenomenon in that only one of them contained any main story element from the original performance and then it was only one element. However, in terms of the characters and the orientation of the text there was a considerable similarity. The macrostructure has been extracted from the text and then a plausible alternative mapped onto this framework. Again the child has used knowledge of social convention and world

knowledge to construct a virtual text, as in this example (11):

(11) About mother father about house children the family / about mother father want go working / read about reading paper about read read the horses / when come back I ask your mother please want cup of tea / mother said alright / waiting cup of tea / with cup of tea / come back give you tea children / when you finished come back / what she say mother what thankyou very much / the boy asks I want play football with father with the park / father said alright with off you go / mother said bye bye / when play football want play very happy about / come back home / what time is it home about half past six / other boy I want to watch film / about film horses very good / when finished after about the film / is funny when finished / what time is it go to bed / about about thats better / what time eleven o clock when finished / finished now.

Using a 'script' for a domestic situation the child has created a plausible scenario that, thematically, runs parallel to the original performance.

The deaf children's protocols in response to performance five revealed a similar outcome to the responses to performance three. The deaf children were distinctly less successful in recalling main elements

from this performance than their hearing peers had been, recalling an average of only 1.3 elements compared with the hearing children's average of 14 elements.

The prosodic features of performance five were more intact but as with performance three the language was supported hardly at all with sign, unlike performance one. The deaf audience seem to be able to process signed information more easily than prosodic clues whereas the opposite was true for the hearing audience.

The performances of the hearing children revealed differences between them in terms of language use, narrative structure and coherence just as the narratives of the deaf children had done. The recall protocols for the hearing children showed that the average recall for two of the performances was 45% but that the average for performance six was 82%. All the hearing performances contained orientation, complicating actions and a resolution. They all tended to follow the simple narrative clause structure defined by Labov (1972) as following the pattern: conjunction + subject + verb + object + locative adverbial + temporal locative. For example:

(12) and he chased the cat up the tree and then

Or this example from performance four:

(13) and the owner gets stuck up the tree then.

Performance two which elicited the least number of recalled propositons used co-referential noun phrases with deleted articles and zero forms as in this example from the text:

(14) he took the dog for a walk / dog saw the cat / chased it / went up the tree / dog followed it.

The three recall protocols for this narrative are examples of the way the children responded to a difficult task. Although this narrative used effective referent-introducing forms in five out of six instances a review of the video recording showed that the narrative was mumbled, barely audible and with very little intonation present. Despite this all three recall protocols recovered the gist of the story but changed some details and added others. For example:

(15) he said the boy was watching television / he heard a noise / went to the kitchen where his mum was / saw a boy / went outside / the dog saw a cat / he ran up the tree to get a cat / I think / I think he fell down the tree.

Performance six dyads were the most successful in terms of recall of main elements. This story had the least number of effective referent-introducing forms but maintained a simple narrative structure withn causally connected clauses and was performed with

clarity and intonation.

Looking at the protocols of the hearing children, it is apparent that for effective communication of even a simple narrative to take place there has to be not only a performance that is competent in terms of its narrative and syntactic structure and prosodic features but also that the listener has sufficient linguistic skills and knowledge to be able to reconstruct, in order to create their own virtual text. There is evidence that some of the hearing children found this task as difficult as some of the deaf children:

(16) well it's about a story that's a dog / and it picks up a lead / he takes it to his owner telling him y'know sort o' thing that he wants a walk / so the owner goes to his wife and tells him / and he goes up the tree about a cat / he goes up a tree and I think he fetches the cat down / comes down again.

Showing the hearing performances to deaf children revealed a situation of almost total non-understanding in terms of their recall of main elements of the stories. Only three of the nine recall protocols contained any of the main elements from the performed texts. All of these were elicited from performance six. This performance had also elicited the greatest number of recalled propositions from the hearing audience.

The protocols of the deaf children highlighted one aspect of all the narratives of the deaf children in

the study. When the hearing children could not recall elements of the text they filled out the narrative with what might have happened according to their knowledge or 'scripts' for certain situations. The deaf children, however, seemed less restricted by what might have happened and, in the same situation, were more likely to create their own narratives. The three protocols in response to performance six, for example, included the animate subjects of the performance but with a new thematic centre and development

The high number of no response protocols among the deaf audience points to a problem that has educational, social and psychological implications. Where breakdowns occur and are commonplace you cannot successfully have access to the culture of the society. In a sense then the stories in this study are not a source of data but, in fact, are the data. Examples of a social process where one finds demonstrations that one is dealing with separate 'worlds' as indexed by failure in the communicative process.

In drawing some conclusions on the mental representations of the content of narrative discourse, based on the work of Garnham (1985), one begins to have a picture of the problem of understanding as it affects deaf children. Information not explicit in the text may be included by inference in a representation of its content, particularly where it is needed to establish

links between parts of the text. The context in which the performance is interpreted determines the meanings of otherwise ambiguous expressions in it. Moreover, representations are built up as the text progresses and at any point the representation constructed up to that point is the context for the interpretation of the next proposition. In particular it restricts the set of possible referents for anaphoric expressions and allows such expressions to be interpreted correctly in context.

The deaf child is faced with the task of relying to a greater extent on their impoverished linguistic resources to reconstruct the narrative in a situation where language is used as its own context.

CHAPTER SEVEN

INTERPRETATION IN DISCOURSE: A CASE STUDY

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CHAPTER SEVEN

INTERPRETATION IN DISCOURSE: A CASE STUDY

INTRODUCTION

In Chapter Six I noted that the deaf children, who were asked to recall the narrative performance of a profoundly deaf child, succesfully remembered 62% of the total number of main story elements. This performance, performance one, was brief and only a small number of the main story elements were included in the spoken performance. It was remarkable, therefore, that the recall protocols included much more propositional information than the original performance and all the listeners were able to successfully recover the 'gist' of the original narrative.

The accuracy of the propositional information recovered precluded any explanation due to inference. It was assumed, therefore, that at least some of the propositional information was being communicated by means other than the child's spoken language. This raised a number of interesting questions which were discussed briefly in Chapter Six. It indicated, for example, that in recording only the child's spoken language I was introducing a theoretical bias in terms of the assumptions I could then make about that text.

That is not to say that the recording of spoken language by itself is inadequate. Indeed it gives some insights into that aspect of the child's linguistic development which, in the context of an orally based language development programme, is necessary for a proper assessment of the child's oral language ability.

The recall protocols certainly suggest that the part of the performance that was presented through sign and mime was effective in communicating aspects of narrative structure. What I want to do in this part of the study is to suggest that, when we look at the deaf child's language beyond the level of the sentence to consider their text-making abilities, it may be counter-productive to consider the spoken and signed aspects of the child's narrative as two separate areas of study. For example, in performance one:

> mother look television / nothing open think broken / I tell father / mother please mend it television please / oh dear can't mend television mend I can't I'm sorry / right you must mend you mend / go father with screwdriver and hammer / go there / think television broken / finished.

The surface structure of this discourse is so poor that one can not imagine a deaf audience recovering

much of the explicit propositional information. It is far more reasonable to assume, I would suggest, that the child's signed language support for this text is the dominant mode of communication for propositional information and meaning. However, this poses a further question of the nature of the non-verbal communication processes within this group of children. Their educational experience had, thus far, been in an orally based language programme. The children used a mixture of sign, gesture and mime among themselves in conversation but apart from natural gesture there was no educational instruction in sign. The non-verbal communication strategies developed by the children tended, therefore, to be largely idiosyncratic and ad hoc. One of the implications of this is that the interactive communication processes between these deaf children could be assumed to be predominantly interpretive.We just do not know enough about the nuances of this child-child interactive process with deaf children.

Edmondson (1981) suggested that a communication equilibrium may be reached among the children in a particular educational setting which is largely tolerant of linguistic idiosyncracy. This equilibrium is achieved partly because the child is encouraged to be very interpretive within the educational and social setting. Hearing teachers and peers encourage it by,

wittingly or unwittingly, stressing the importance of lipreading and, Edmondson suggests, by other deaf children whose individual linguistic behaviour will suggest to other deaf children that a necessary part of communication is interpretation (Edmondson, 1983).

Interpretation is an important feature of all our communication and I am not suggesting that it is in any sense outside the normal range of communication strategies. The statement 'I understand you' is always provisional and mutual understanding is always subject to revision. So it is a pragmatic statement that I understand you well enough to conduct our affairs in a shared world in the future. Where breakdowns occur then we can repair ourselves. In this sense repair is the creative force of communication and partial understanding the context of that creativity. If meaning was fixed there would be nothing more to say. However, with regard to the situation of the deaf child Edmondson is saying that it is important to respect the whole of the child's communicative effort in order to avoid a situation where their efforts are constrained by a requirement for too much interpretativity which then supports an environment that is tolerant of too much idiosyncracy.

In fact, in teacher-deaf child communication, one finds remarkably few repair sequences that are initiated by the child. There is a tendancy to accept

what is given in the discourse situation. Deaf children in particular develop communication strategies in order to make it appear to a listener that they are 'listening' and understanding. A term used in anthroplological linguistics to describe the same strategies between people of different cultures is 'gratuitous concurrence' (Liberman, 1984).One conclusion that can be drawn from this is that the child is acknowledging the social importance of communication, or the tenor of the situation in terms of the relative status of teacher and child and providing that the discourse situation does not develop into a question and answer session the potential for 'breakdowns' in communication is minimal and the child will 'play the game' according to the rules.

In storytelling, however, the possibilty to repair is minimised. According to the 'rules' of this discourse genre the listener is expected to adopt an interested yet passive role. Thus the responsibility of maintaining the communication rests with the narrator. The narrative, therefore, needs to be highly reportable in order to justify the extended turn-taking that storytelling allows the teller of the story (Haslett, 1986). The task for the deaf child is much more complex. He or she has to produce a narrative with limited linguistic resources which may be largely unintelligible to the listener and also to produce a

narrative that is essentially interesting, dramatic and unusual. The implications of not doing so are that the child may be assumed to be unable or unwilling to take account of the listener's needs and, moreover, misunderstandings leading to breakdowns in communication.

This part of the study is an investigation into the linguistic and communicative resources that one child brings to the storytelling situation. I am, therefore, engaging in what is essentially a hermeneutic process. I felt that there was no effective way that I could even begin to understand what this child was doing in terms of narrative production without taking a fuller account of the pragmatic, as well as the semantic basis of the texts. It rather mirrors the discussions in Linguistics in the sixties and seventies when researchers were asking themselves how one interpreted children's one and two word utterances (Brown, 1973; Bloom, 1973; Clark, 1973; McNeill, 1970). There was an acknowledgement that context affected meaning and that some meanings are semantically richer than others. In this sense what I am now saying is that one can accept that some interpretations of narrative events are pragmatically richer than others.

There is a tradition of using a case study approach in the analysis and interpretation of

children's narratives. Carol Fox (1983) recorded the narratives of one child during the year between the child's fifth and sixth birthday. She wanted to show how children's narrative ability is influenced by the stories that are read to them at a nuber of levels: first at a superficial level in the inclusion of character and a complicating action, secondly at the level of linguistic style when the discourse is that of text rather than speech and finally, at the level of narrative structures which are transformed by the children for their own narrative intentions.

Maureen and Hugh Crago recorded their daughter's responses to the books they read to her. The retellings of the stories revealed the ways in which the child adopted elements of the folk-tale genre in her own narratives (Crago, 1983). Meek (1985) describes a study by Dombey (1983) of a mother and child sharing bedtime stories where the mother mediates between the child and the author by using familiar forms such as intonation and stress as vehicles for introducing new syntactic forms.

I am not aware of any studies to date, particularly from a hermeneutic perspective, on the narrative production and comprehension of deaf children from the perspective of their spoken / signed language. However, two related studies, one with children and adults and a second with adults only examined some of

the issues which I draw upon in this chapter.

In the first of these Edmondson (1983) conducted an experiment where groups of hearing and deaf children and adults were asked to take part in a game situation of passing on a message which Edmondson described as a Story Chain. The method employed was very similar to my own recall studies (Chapter Six) where each stage in the Chain, or performance, was recorded and the recall protocol became the performance for the next child. The fate of the original message can, therefore, be measured.

In my study the performance remained constant, the same performance being shown to a group of children. The results of the study are also reflected in he protocols of the children in this study. He finds, for example, that deaf children are more error prone and willing to elaborate. As I noted in Chapter Six such elaboration can be to the extent of creating a new text with a parallel theme. He also notes that errors are made at a syntactic as well as at the lexical level. He observes aspects of the child's awareness of the needs of the listener, or 'addressee sensitivity' in the use of synonyms for signs in repetition.

He gives an example where two signs are given for 'buying' one after the other as evidence of the child's understanding of the needs of the listener in

situations where an item is not sufficiently well marked in speech. In acknowledging the usefulness of some of the results of that study I think that the sort of experimental approach adopted by Edmondson lacks a deeper appreciation of the situational dependant variables operating in that context. He does, however, conclude that the sort of idiosyncratic signing systems that can develop in school situations is inadequate in such communication tasks. He implies, on the basis of this, that what is needed are deaf adult role models.

Kyle (1983) noted how researchers in linguistics and psychology generally attempt to isolate the basic units of the phenomenon being investigated so that generative rules can be established. So that some researchers have looked at short term memory for signs as a way of identifying a sign language code (Bellugi, Klima and Siple, 1975) and others have attempted descriptions of individual signs and their components, and suggested some of the rules of combination and modulation of the signs (Stokoe, 1972).

Kyle suggests that having theoretically dismantled sign language and reassembled it according to linguistic and psychological principles it is no longer identifiable as the same linguistic system that deaf people use. He, therefore, argues for an analysis of sign at a higher level. Indeed attempts to analyse

sign in terms of phonemic components has, I would argue, been a rather misleading tangent in research in sign language. The roots of sign lie in kinesics and spatial representation not in linguistics. It is essentially visual and attempts to evaluate it according to the parameters of speech will, I suggest, be largely counter-productive without a top-down view of sign language use in different contexts.

In a study of story recall, of a short silent film, with twelve adults, six hearing and six deaf, Kyle examined the complexity of what he called 'sign grammar' at a semantic level. I was very interested to note that his reasons for undertaking the study closely resembled my own observations in the classroom. He noted that when deaf people retell an event from their experience, it appears to be rich in imagery. He assumed from this that a deaf viewer of a signed story is generally better able to replicate the story than a hearing person who has heard the same story retold in speech.

In my own study the number of main elements recalled in the protocols of hearing children listening to hearing children was 47% of the total averaged across the whole sample. The figure for deaf children to deaf children was only 19%. However, if one takes only those protocols where the performance was signed then the average increases to 62% thus confirming

Kyle's assumption. He also noted another important similarity between the two studies, that deaf people appear to be accurate in their story, while hearing people tend to infer the resolution of the story. The term accurate in this sense, certainly in my own study, I take to mean a closer recall of propositional information rather than inferential information and adherence to the same temporal sequence as the original.

This event based description of narratives in sign, according to Kyle, means less need to use explicit referents. As a result there is an increased use of mime whereas speech uses different propositional networks and is largely referential. A top-down approach allows an analysis of the 'grammatical' aspects of sign from the perspective of the text as a whole. In this way the hermeneutic and the analytical can inform each other. Kyle's study was concerned with recall of narrative not narrative production nevertheless his study and that of Edmondson are examples of how an investigation of the use of sign in narrative discourse can inform our knowledge of the deaf person's concept of story and general narrative competence.

A CASE STUDY

The subject of this case study is a girl aged 10.9

years. At the time of the study she attended a day school for deaf children. Her parents and sisters have normal hearing. Her average hearing loss in the better ear was 104 dB. The language development programme at the school was essentially oral although the child's preferred mode of communication with her peers and her family was a mixture of spoken and signed language. She had had no formal instruction in sign language so that much of her knowledge of sign will have been learned within the context of the school and some contact with the deaf community.

Procedure:

Spontaneous narratives were elicited from the child using a request to 'tell me a story'. The stories were recorded in the child's own home using a video cassette recorder and camera. The child sat in a comfortable chair face to face, at a distance of about two metres, with the 'audience' which consisted of her mother and myself. The camera was situated immediately behind the audience. The stories were recorded over a period of four weeks in four sessions. The stories were then transcribed .

The Stories:

Seven stories were recorded and the full transcripts of these can be found in Appendix (6). Six

of the stories were traditional children's stories and the seventh was about a day trip to London. The traditional stories are :

1. Snow White and the Seven Dwarves
2. Goldilocks and the three bears
3. The Three Little Pigs
4. The Little Mermaid
5. Jack and The Beanstalk
6. Cinderella

Data Analysis:

The purpose of this part of the study is to investigate aspects of narrative structure and coherence that are processed visually and spatially as well as through speech. In this way it is hoped to be able to make assumptions about this child's narrative competencies that are a more accurate reflection of ability and of the influences on her text-making.

Although all the texts will be referred to below, the discussion concentrates on two of the texts; The Little Mermaid and The Trip to London. These two texts illustrate two different registers and contrasting rule systems. One being a traditional story and the other a narrative based on personal experience. Both of these, it could be argued, are scripted to some extent by the 'plot' in the traditional narrative and by the sequence of events that actually happened in the personal

experience narrative. However, They reflect quite naturally one child's interpretation of what it means to 'tell a story'.

The recorded narratives were transcribed for speech only to begin with. Where problems occured in the transcription of items of the text these were referred to two colleagues experienced in working with the deaf. The recordings were also transcribed by the child's mother and the transcriptions offered to the child to compare all the interpretations. This triangulation of the material was not only useful in terms of validating interpretations of the material but was also an interesting learning experience for myself.

The discussion below, therefore, includes evidence from the transcripts of spoken language and interpretations of the kinesic information which are used to support hypotheses about the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic structures of the text.

DISCUSSION

In her choice of narratives Lucy indicates something of the influence of stories and story books on children. Researchers have suggested that children brought up in an environment which values books and the development of early reading skills are more likely to find enjoyment in books and listening to stories (Cook-

Gumperz and Green, 1984). However, since very young children can not read their recognition and appreciation of story is mediated by written prose models of narrative presented in books in a storytelling situation such as the bedtime story.

For the deaf child, however, particularly the very deaf child such storytelling activities are problematic. In an interview with Lucy's mother I asked her to talk about what she remembered of Lucy's earliest storytelling experiences. Her mother described Lucy's interest in story as an activity from as early as she can remember and certainly before they were told that she was deaf. She described the situation as being 'warm' and an activity in which the whole family was involved. Another factor she felt was important in the situation was giving the child time.

So Lucy would find this a pleasurable experience, a sharing experience with no demands. At the time Lucy's sister loved to have stories read to her and Lucy was naturally involved by being there and watching. As Lucy's sister learned to read she too would read to Lucy, pointing out pictures and talking about them and pointing to words.

When Lucy's deafness was diagnosed the family continued to include her in storytelling just as before but the social situation had changed because they felt that Lucy needed to see the storyteller as well as the

book. In a sense the acknowledgement of the child's hearing loss meant that the narrative content was given an equal importance to the social activity of just being in that situation. The focus of the storytelling experiences in the home was the bedtime story.

The importance of the bedtime story as a literacy event has been studied from a number of pespectives within the wider study of the degree of cultural specificity and relativism attends narrative practice. Heath (1982) found that what counted as narratives in different social communities is culturally specific.

The problem is that, despite the many different attitudes and responses in different social groups to the importance of narrative and narrative events such as bedtime stories, some narrative modes are given higher status in society as a whole and this affects the way that society's institutions, like schools, respond to and reward different narrative styles. Some of the discourse expectations in schools in terms of a teacher's subjective judgements of appropriateness were revealed in Michaels and Collins (1984). The teacher, they argue, had an underlying schema of what constituted good narrative practice and, moreover, that this practice had an implicit literate bias such that:

1. objects were to be named and described, even when in plain sight;

2. talk was to be explicitly grounded temporally

and spatially;

3. minimal shared background knowledge or context was to be assumed on the part of the audience;

4. thematic ties needed to be lexicalised if topic shifts were to be seen as motivated and relevant.

What was expected then was a literate style, decontextualised account centring on a single topic (Michaels and Collins, 1984:p223).

Inevitably, research is also 'institutionalised' and reflects a particular view of narrative structure. So that studies, including this one, have analysed narratives for their underlying structures and the way the child uses different linguistic options to produce texts in different social contexts. These models are essentially born out of an adult literate model of stories that appear in books.

However, this study has already revealed that the child's narrative ability ,particularly the ability to produce narratives, cannot be judged wholly in terms of this adult literate model and that there are other factors which mediate the narrative processes which are to do with the child's experiences of written and visual material, the way they organise those experiences and the context of situation. It is an essentially interactive process where what is written and what is oral or visual are interelated.

In order to investigate the influence of the

written literate style in Lucy's narratives one has to begin with those stories which are obviously remembered from books such as Cinderella and The Little Mermaid. These stories obviously made a significant impression on Lucy for her to want to remember them and tell them in such detail. Indeed, all of Lucy's narratives which were elicited spontaneous are significantly longer than the recall protocols of the hearing and deaf children in this study.

She did not merely reproduce the narratives in their conventional form but used them to 'scaffold' her own experiences as in this example from 'The Three Little Pigs':

> then again after one week wolf came / said you must go farmer cabbage cabbage in six o clock / pig said yes / then when five o clock went / shh pick pick / walk walk walk back to house inside / pig peeling / wolf very cross / then after it is goose fair / you come with us to go to the fair at six o clock / he said yes / then morning / eat then later it's six o clock / hurray go to fair / walk walk walk to fair / on roundabout / went round round round / and lots of people

The Goose Fair is held annually in Nottingham in the Autumn. Lucy not only incorporates the event into

her story but she also places it appropriately within the episodic framework of the narrative where the wolf invents all sorts of strategies to get the pig out of the brick house and these are narrated sequentially. Lucy feels able to introduce a personal and enjoyable experience into a narrative situation which is threatening. It indicates that she is aware, in a sense that stories are part of make believe and imagination, and that she finds pleasure in manipulating this fact in the creation of her own narrative.

In her performance of 'The Little Mermaid' Lucy immediately adopts the narrative mode with this stylised opening which serves as an abstract for what is to follow:

> Now once long long long time ago the little mermaid have six sisters / and the king have daughters / and the queen is very nice.

After this introduction the orientation identifies the setting of the narrative:

> Now the little mermaid swam lovely sea / brush hair every time then swam / no legs have a tail / have a body with up the hair with flower on top.

After a number of complicating actions the narrative ends with a formal coda: 'flew happy forever'.

Now once long long long time ago the little mermaid have six sisters / and the king have daughters / and the queen is very nice.

now the little mermaid swam lovely sea / brush hair every time then swam / no legs have a tail / have a body with up the hair with flower on top /

on night time she heard the boat / prince's birthday / firework boom / little mermaid saw / frightened / don't know who / swam down to the home / a few years later she saw the boat crash / she found and save prince / swam to the land / sand / go home / in morning then she swam / saw the three little girls / I think he was a father / they was crying / he was not dead / don't know who it is / she little mermaid she swam down to grandma / I want marry to the prince grandma / no you have no legs I'm sorry / you must see the witch mermaid / little mermaid under swam / hello what you want / I want marry the prince / that's alright / you must drink the magic drink / you never talk without voice / you'll hurt feets when night time / I'm very sorry without tail and you have legs / and boom / little prince saw the beautiful and wrapped the clothes / then a man showed her to the change / change

dancing dress / the prince don't know who is she / then dance / happy / without voice / she love dancing / then prince to went to the hall for a sleep / then he and the little mermaid walked on the beach / who saved my life / the princess know isn't tell him / who saved my life / walk the prince now want marry / at night time her feet hurts / in the sea wipe saw six sisters / where have you been / I have been in without tail / I have no voice / walk walk / marry but the little mermaid don't want marry him / she had a broken heart / the curtain was made the white clothes / the walk and happy / the prince said my wife and I will on the boat / hooray / then the wife do not want on the boat / sail / boom / then the prince love other woman / oh / in the water / please you kill the prince with the knife / picked it and dropped it and love kissed him / the mermaid sail from the sea / the little mermaid flew the prince and his new wife saw sad a little girl want marry and love / yes the little mermaid / I think so / flew happy forever.

In looking at the transcript above it is important to note that even this comparatively short story took a great deal of time to transcribe and is the result of more than one interpretation of what Lucy was actually saying. Lexical items which were not recoverable by one person might be understood by another. What is

eventually transcribed is possibly not what she actually said since a full phonemic analysis would take a great deal longer and would not, I feel, be relevant to this study. So even at this stage of transcribing lexical items it is an interpretive activity.

It is also important to note that the transcription as an objectification of the narrative in written form had no reality as such in the performance of the narrative. It is impossible to say what my interpretation of this text was in the situation in which it was produced. I am certainly not trying to do that. I can acknowledge, however, that my perception of the narrative varied from that of the mother. In this sense perception is another situation-dependant variable. I found it easier to piece together items of lexical information and visual, signed information in the traditional narratives where I could work to a 'script', but for the personal experience narrative of the trip to London I could recover very little in the situation. Lucy's mother, however, had hardly any difficulty in following what Lucy was 'saying'.

Another situational problem, which was really an example of the 'observers paradox' was the fact that as I began filming Lucy on our first session I noticed that she was not using her hands at all, not even in natural gesture. Since this was only a preliminary session to introduce Lucy to the equipment I continued

the session. Her mother discussed this with Lucy afterwards and Lucy explained that she did not want to use her hands because I was a teacher and she assumed that I would want her to use her voice only.

I was fortunate that the mother was able to tell me about this and we consequently explained to the child that she could tell the stories in whatever way she chose. It raised an interesting dilemma in my mind about recording children's communication in schools. We know that children alter their register and mode of communication on the basis of their assumptions and expectations about the other persons needs and status but situations like the one I have described are arguably more deeply embedded in social practice in schools and, possibly, overlooked.

This transcription then is not the transcription but is rather one of many possible transcriptions and is intended as a basis for analysis.

I suggested earlier that in the narratives of deaf children coherence is impaired by an inadequate reference system. In this text, also, referents are introduced with a combination of ineffective and mixed forms which are presuppositional, though one could argue that in the context of a traditional story they are largely exophoric.For example:

'the king have daughters'

In terms of the child's co-referential skills it is possible to say that this child can use pronomial reference effectively but not consistently. For example she tells us that 'the Little Mermaid swam lovely sea' and that '<u>she</u> heard the boat'. The reference to boat is presuppositional.

As the text moves on in time 'a few years' the pronomial reference to the mermaid is maintained as we are told that 'she' saw the boat crash, 'she' also found and saved the prince and then 'she' swam. 'She' is then assumed to be the subject of the verb 'saw' in the phrase 'saw the three little girls'. The three girls have no previous referents except a potential link, within a broad lexical domain, to 'daughters'. At this point, possibly acknowledging that a 'breakdown' may occur from the sudden appearance of the three girls in the text, Lucy suspends the narrative to explain the point. This evaluative device leads to another 'breakdown' with use of the second person pronoun 'he' in:

'I think he was father'

'He' may refer to the king or the prince or may be a cataphoric reference to 'he' in 'he was not dead'. Contextually, one can assume that if 'he' is not dead then there is a possibilty that he could have been and that 'he' was possibly the person in the boat that

crashed, that is, the prince. Later in the text there is an example of where the child explicitly acknowledges that a referent may not be understood. She self corrects and changes one referent for another and ,having clarified the reference reverts back to the pronominal form:

'she / little mermaid / she swam down to grandma.'

In young hearing children such changes are, according to Hickmann (1985), an indication that these uses are not fully 'automatised' and that the children hesitate among the presuppositional properties of various linguistic expressions.

Lucy's narrative also includes dialogue. The absence of any framing devices for the dialogue is more indicative of a script for a play than a written prose model. Interpretation of the dialogue depends on the previous mention of the participants and then knowledge of conversational practice such as turn taking together with a 'script' for what is conventional in such dialogues. The 'gist' of the dialogue is easily recovered.

In the next 'episode' a man is introduced and 'he' shows 'her' to the change. 'Her' could be an anaphoric reference to 'the beautiful' and/or may refer to the 'she' that the prince does not know and who loves

dancing. From this point an interpretation on the basis of lexical items only becomes even more complicated. A number of highly presuppositional referents are introduced but are not maintained, in the middle of what is a very active part of the narrative and which, I feel, contains 'the point' of the story: the princess, a wife, another woman and a little girl all come together in the resolution to this narrative.

The evidence of all the transcripts of Lucy's narratives suggest that she has a very clear concept of what a story is, that she understands the structure of narratives sufficiently to use them as a 'scaffold' for her own experiences.

Her use of evaluative devices shows an awareness of audience and of the needs of her audience as listeners. However, her inability to consistently create referents linguistically, to maintain those references and to use linguistic devices to frame speech in the narrative impair the narrative production to the extent that the 'gist' is often the only recoverable information in the face to face situation without a significant degree of shared knowledge.

The analysis of this child's narrative competence must go beyond an analysis of structure and the linguistic options used by the child to realise her semantic intent to consider all the child's resources in her 'effort after meaning'. What the child does is

far more than a simple telling of the story. The narrative is a performance that involves the whole child. It is a further example of Wolfson's performed narrative and contains a number of the features which she suggests are characteristic of this type of narrative (Wolfson, 1982): direct speech, asides, expressive noises and sound effects as well as mime, sign and body movement.

When analysing the narratives of deaf children, therefore, it is, I suggest, important to look at all the visual and linguistic resources that they bring to the situation. If we fail to do this we could, arguably, ignore the richness of the text, analogous to describing a symphony by merely whistling the 'tune'. I am suggesting, therefore, that the richness of the text lies in the interaction of all of these resources that the child brings to the situation and that this has implications for the way we assess a child's knowledge and use of language.

What is required, then, is a new approach to our understanding of the narrative abilities of deaf children from different perspectives. What Lucy is doing, I would argue, when she produces a narrative is to create a picture. In structural terms she is setting the scene physically, as well as linguistically, on a number of plains which can be described as spatial, temporal and evaluative.

It is only possible for me to begin to understand and explain all the nuances of this process. The mapping of non-verbal kinesics on to spatial representation and then into the basic syntactic organisation of sign language is an important area for future research.

Analysis of the non-verbal aspects of Lucy's narratives suggests that some of these are related to the narrative frame. It is particulaly clear in the traditional stories where the episodic structure is more easily recoverable. Intervals in the text are marked by Lucy bringing her hands together on her knees which is sometimes accompanied by a temporal connective such as 'then' or 'and then'. Codas are also marked in sign in the same way that the children in the earlier studies did, that is, with the sign 'finished'.

In the narratives of hearing children it has been suggested that prosodic features are important in conveying semantic information (Gumperz, Kaltman and O'Connor, 1984). Lucy uses stress in her voice and changes in pitch together with the use of more exaggerated gesture and facial expression to achieve the same effect. One early influence on her ability to do this is suggested by Lucy's mother. She describes how Lucy would be encouraged to join in repetitive phrases in bedtime stories, for example, 'I'll huff and I'll puff' or 'Fe fi fo fum'. A second influence, she

suggests, is the way that Lucy was encouraged to maximise the use of her residual hearing in the nursery.

Lucy's mother also recalls how Lucy and her sisters were encouraged to act out stories where everyone in the family would have a part. Such events are recorded by Lucy in her storybook:

> Today we went to park with my Daddy and my sisters. I played with my sisters to be Pretend The billy Goats Gruff. Daddy to be monsters and I to be second Goat. Angela to be thrid Goat and Lorna to be first Goat

Even as this adventure ends, the walk in the park provides plenty of material for Lucy's narrative imagination to create 'possible worlds':

> we went to old church. I thought it was very old. I think the church was built about seven hundred years old and Daddy saw the old broke windows. It was very dangerous or I will touch the old window and may fall. I said "Do not walk on the Grave Grass." My Daddy said "Why not" and I said "I think God will be angry with People because sometimes People was walking on the Grave Grass". My Daddy laughed.

An ordinary trip to the park is an opportunity for narrative play. On an old bridge in the park goats and monsters are imaginatively created to explore another 'world' where caring fathers are allowed to become Troll like monsters. It is in such play situations that children 'extend the boundaries of their world and their ways of perceiving it' (Meek, 1985).

I have suggested that when Lucy produces a narrative she uses a combination of speech, sign, mime and facial expression to create a multi dimensional picture or pictures to tell a story in space. In example (1) Lucy describes the mermaid:

(1) move with tail [she imitates the movement with her whole body and the movement of the mermaid's tail with her hand spread out like a fan behind her] legs [she shakes her head and adopts a surprised facial expression]

In this way Lucy is building up our appreciation of the character and allowing us a better interpretation of the spoken narrative: 'move with tail / legs'. Similarly when Lucy goes to the underground she takes us with her as in this example (2):

(2) not left only right [she shows us how her movement is restricted on the escalator. He left arm moves freely but the right is seen to be holding the rail,with the elbow

tucked in] look at the picture bit sideways / can't move can't move [Lucy turns her head but keeps her body quite still and looks sideways at the pictures alongside the escalator. As she is doing this her hand is slowly moving forwards, imitating the movement of the handrail] picture picture funny side.

These kinesic features, it seems to me do more than just imitate movement. In expressing feelings and by paralleling the use of intensifiers in spoken language they perform an important evaluative role.

Moreover, her use of space is organised animate and inanimate objects are 'placed' in ways which seem to suggest relationships between them, either in terms of distance and time or in terms of status. So that, in the Little Mermaid story the 'sea' is the horizontal plane between Lucy and the audience. She describes 'the boat' sitting on the sea. When she returns to the subject of the boat to tell us how it sank her hands move to the place in the 'sea' where she had placed it. As the boat sinks she takes us below the horizontal plane to the 'sea bed'. When the mermaid rescues the prince she brings him up from the spot where the boat went below the horizontal plane. As the mermaid places the unconscious prince on land she places him to the

side and not in that space reserved for the sea. As people move in and out of the action Lucy always 'brings them back' from the place they 'went out'.

This suggests that this practice of placement of subject could be seen as a referential system Two further aspects of the narratives would support this interpretation:

(3) in morning then she swam / saw the three little girls / I think he was a father.

As Lucy says 'he' she points to the place where she had just placed the prince. The use of this deictic reference makes it possible to reassess my assumptions of Lucy's apparent inability to use effective co-reference. Also Lucy will sometimes use a sign to represent a person rather than that person's name. For example, at one point in the text she touches her throat to indicate that the person doing the action is the mermaid who can not speak.

This creation of a picture narrative suggests that Lucy is creating a 'world' in space and using that created pictorial text to make adequate reference to aspects of the narrative structure that are essential to its orientation. In the same way that hearing children move from a situation of being read to to reading for themselves and telling their own stories it could be argued that Lucy is moving from a situation

where her family would point to pictures in books and text to a situation where she is using her own linguistically and visually created text to refer to in creating her own stories. As she does this she may also develop the devices needed to organise the narrative linguistically.

However, there are still references in the text that are inadequately developed or explained. It could be that I just do not recognise the association or that Lucy does not use effective co-reference consistently.

By taking one's interpretation back to the child some of these issues can be more easily resolved. For example, 'the three little girls' in the mermaid story have no obvious previous referent. Lucy explained this fact as 'same book'. Indicating that in order to understand some aspects of the narrative more fully we need to consider the influence of the original text.

Some of Lucy's favourite books were the Ladybird 'well loved tales' series. One of these texts is 'The Little Mermaid'. The book is heavily illustrated and one can almost immediately see the imagery of Lucy's text realised in the book. When I reached the part of the book where the prince was lying on the sand, having been rescued by the mermaid, the reference to the three girls was resolved. There in the picture were three girls running towards the prince. 'One little girl' is bending over him (p18). Later in the text Lucy's

graphic description of the witch's home are reproduced exactly in the book (p29).

Lucy's stories, therefore, are not only telling us the words but are also telling us the pictures. She uses all her resources to present the narrative but does not have the necessary linguistic skills or options to communicate that image of the text which, one can assume, is vividly created in her imagination. It is a model that is manifestly book based but not yet literate. I suggest, therefore, that the spoken narrative is not simply a version of the written one but that Lucy is using all the graphic, visual and syntactic information in texts to develop her narrative style. The weight given to any particular element will depend on the context of discourse in her social and cultural situation and on her increasing ability to use language as its own context.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

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Observation of deaf children's language has tended to concentrate on their phonology. Various ways of measuring the syntactic structures at the phrase, clause and sentence level have been developed by researchers. So, quite a lot is known about the 'bottom up' process and their deficiences at this level. We also have some insight into the pragmatics of discourse and the communicative competence of deaf children with familiar people in highly constructed situations.

However, what we do not have, beyond the level of the sentence, is what happens when a child is involved in a communicative episode, such as storytelling, where they are trying to make sense in ways that are relatively autonomous without the scaffolding of adult clarification.

The central concern, then, at the beginning of this thesis was to look, for the first time, descriptively, at finding ways of describing and characterising deaf children's ability to organise text and to see how that implicates defective, inadequate or poorly developed narrative skills and, moreover, whether this group of children found strategic ways

around these problems.

The purpose of describing such narrative activity was to develop a better understanding of how deaf children operate linguistically and to get some insights into the interaction between syntactic functions and text-making. It was suggested that such insights would then inform this very active area of language study and inform practice in terms of language based activities within the educational setting.

The results of this study suggest that deaf children do have a concept of story and that this is revealed in the way they structure their discourse in response to a request to tell a story. Deficiencies in the narrative productions of this group of deaf children can, I suggest, be explained, to some extent at least, in terms of a child's narrative development and the context of situation.

Although the child's degree of hearing loss is seen to be a significant factor in the structure and coherence of the text, it is by no means a simple relationship, as the protocols of deaf children in response to the performance of a narrative by a profoundly deaf child revealed.

However, the evidence of the transcripts of the children's spoken narrative suggests that those children with more useful hearing are better able to organise the semantic content of the narrative

linguistically. Their narratives appear, therefore, to be more well formed in terms of Labov's model of narrative structure and more coherent in that they have a higher incidence of effective referent-introducing forms and are more likely to provide an orientation or setting and to use evaluative structures in the text.

There is no evidence to suggest that their narratives are in any sense structurally 'deviant'. The structural deficiencies and use of ineffective referent-introducing forms are typical of the developmental errors revealed in the narratives of younger hearing children. The deaf children in this study are, therefore, aware of 'story' structure and its function but, to a greater or lesser degree, depending to some extent on their degree of hearing loss, do not have the organisational linguistic structures to ensure that the narrative is also coherent.

In the course of the thesis, however, I felt increasingly uneasy about drawing conclusions about a child's narrative competence on the basis of their spoken language. Although, as I have discussed earlier, this has a use in certain contexts it tends merely to confirm what we already know about the expressive language abilities of profoundly deaf children; that their productions are largely verb dominated, that the simple verb clauses have minimal clausal elaboration

and that they are for the most part unintelligible. All these factors meant that attempts to establish narrative ability from transcripts of spoken language present a very negative view of the child's 'effort after meaning'.

I decided, therefore, to look for a method which would not only present a fuller picture of the child's language and communication processes but which would also acknowledge that the child's own perspective is to some extent adopted from the situation. It is what is socially defined for them.

What it is to tell a story is usually deeply embedded in social practice and that social practice is reflected in the classroom such that not only does the teacher's conversational strategy affect the way the child responds but also the child's linguistic competence seems to relate to the way that the teacher behaves towards the child in the first place. A child who habitually receives few opportunities from his teacher to elaborate and contribute will produce short utterances even on the rare occasions when he is given the opportunity (Griffiths, 1983).

So one could argue that the child gives that part of the story that would have been given had the teacher been asking the questions. Thus they continue to play their respective roles in the interaction even though the other partner remains silent. The performance is,

therefore, governed by situational criteria. It has been suggested that as children revise their interpretation of what the situation is, that it may in fact be closer to what they do with each other, one sees a rapid development in narrative production (Wood, 1989). In this study it is suggested that in situations where shared knowledge can not be assumed, for example in the production of narratives using line drawing materials, the children say more and their use of evaluative structures increases. Thus the child moves from a egocentric to a more sociocentric mode across contexts.

The combination of acknowledging the importance of situation and the development of an interpretive method enabled me to think in terms of a more intensive rather than extensive approach. In making the process of analysis more complex I felt further away from any hard and fast conclusions about what these children were doing and why, but at the same time felt that I had a better understanding and was in a better position to hypothesise about their abilities.

The hermeneutic approach adopted in the analysis of Lucy's stories revealed how including non-verbal aspects of communication can alter our interpretation of a child's narrative ability. The non verbal component of the narratives is largely evaluative. The absence of evaluation in narrative discourse reduces

its structural complexity. The construction of the narrative clause is relatively simple conforming typically to: conjunction + subject + verb + object + locative adverbial + temporal locative
For example: and + the dog + saw + the cat + in the tree + then.

However, explanations, which are evaluative devices, can be quite complex. So the non verbal aspects of Lucy's communication are an integral part of her narrative production and, one can assume, of her perception of narrative. Since it is largely evaluative this may explain how the deaf children in the earlier study were able to accurately recover aspects of the performance that were not performed orally. As well as being evaluative her narrative production is also full of imagery. She creates pictures in space that are not only semantically rich but structurally expedient in terms of character placement and orientation.

It is suggested, therefore, that the focus of our previous conceptualisations and experimental studies of deaf children's linguistic abilities has concentrated on the phonological level and neglected the child's text-making abilities. Such an approach, it is argued, underestimates the child's communicative resources and that this has implications for teacher-child interaction and the use and choice of resources in the classroom. Further research efforts need to be directed

towards the interpretation of the deaf child's discourse in the context of situation and the interelationship of spoken and non-verbal content of narrative. Developmental research is also needed to improve our knowledge of the stages in the child's development of linguistic devices that are relevant to effective and coherent narrative production.

ADDENDUM

In the introduction to this thesis I said that its purpose can be defined in terms of the development of my own practice as a teacher of deaf children and also the development, in the field of the education of deaf children, of a research area which has been largely ignored.

As a text the thesis is inevitably open to individual interpretation but I hope that colleagues who work with deaf children or who share an interest in the education of deaf children will find some of the questions raised by the study of interest.

I began this work mainly out of frustration. The sort of frustration created by the endless struggle to communicate with the very children for whom we are given the enormous responsibility of educating. I was was once told by the parent of a deaf child that she found books about deaf children, particularly descriptions of research studies, depressing and pessimistic. So many studies have focussed on what deaf children can not do and on poor academic achievement. I hope that this study has, in some small way, begun to redress the balance: to look at what deaf children can do and are doing in their narrative discourse and to recognise the richness and vitality of the child's 'language' through sign language, speech, and

expression. In fact, the whole performance of the narrative.

The use of video recorders and cameras in assessing the linguistic and communicative competence of deaf children in schools was rather innovatory at the time that I was beginning the study. It is now commonplace. Much of the information that I gained from the research would have been impossible without this technology. Improvements in the design and function of video cameras has meant that classrooms no longer have to resemble television studios.

The video recorder is not only of benefit to the teacher. It also gives deaf children a medium in which to express their narratives allowing free use of all their communicative skills. The recorded narratives are then a resource not only for the child but for other children in the class.

If progress is to be made in the teaching and development of narrative skills to deaf children then the people in immediate contact with them on a day to day basis, whether teachers or carers, need to accept and value all the child's attempts at communication. We cannot ignore aspects of a child's communication merely because they are difficult to interpret or, even worse, contrary to the philosophy of the particular educational establishment. In this study I have shown that deaf children are capable of producing interesting

and imaginative narratives but that there are many unanswered questions about exactly how they do it and what influences they are drawing on. This hermeneutical enquiry is, I believe, a way forward for all those teachers, like myself, who want to break away from narrow syntactic analyses of deaf children's spoken and written language towards an ethnography of deaf children's communication.

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APPENDIX I

DEFINING AVERAGE HEARING LOSS

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DEFINING AVERAGE HEARING LOSS

In any study of deaf children some measure of their hearing loss is usually given for the purposes of making comparisons. Researchers have made use of different metho ds of determining the child's hearing loss for statistical purposes. In her study of the linguistic competence of deaf primary school children Griffiths (1983) noted that three methods were currently in use. She examined all three methods to see which of them, if any, correlated more highly with measures of the child's linguistic ability.

The first method took the average of five frequencies: 250, 500, 1000, 2000 and 4000Hz and 110, 125, 125, 125 and 140dB as no response values.

The second method used the average of the same frequencies but used 120dB for all no response values.

The third method used the average of only three frequencies: 500, 1000 and 2000Hz and 120 dB for all no response values.

The average hearing loss in the better ear was used in the analyses.

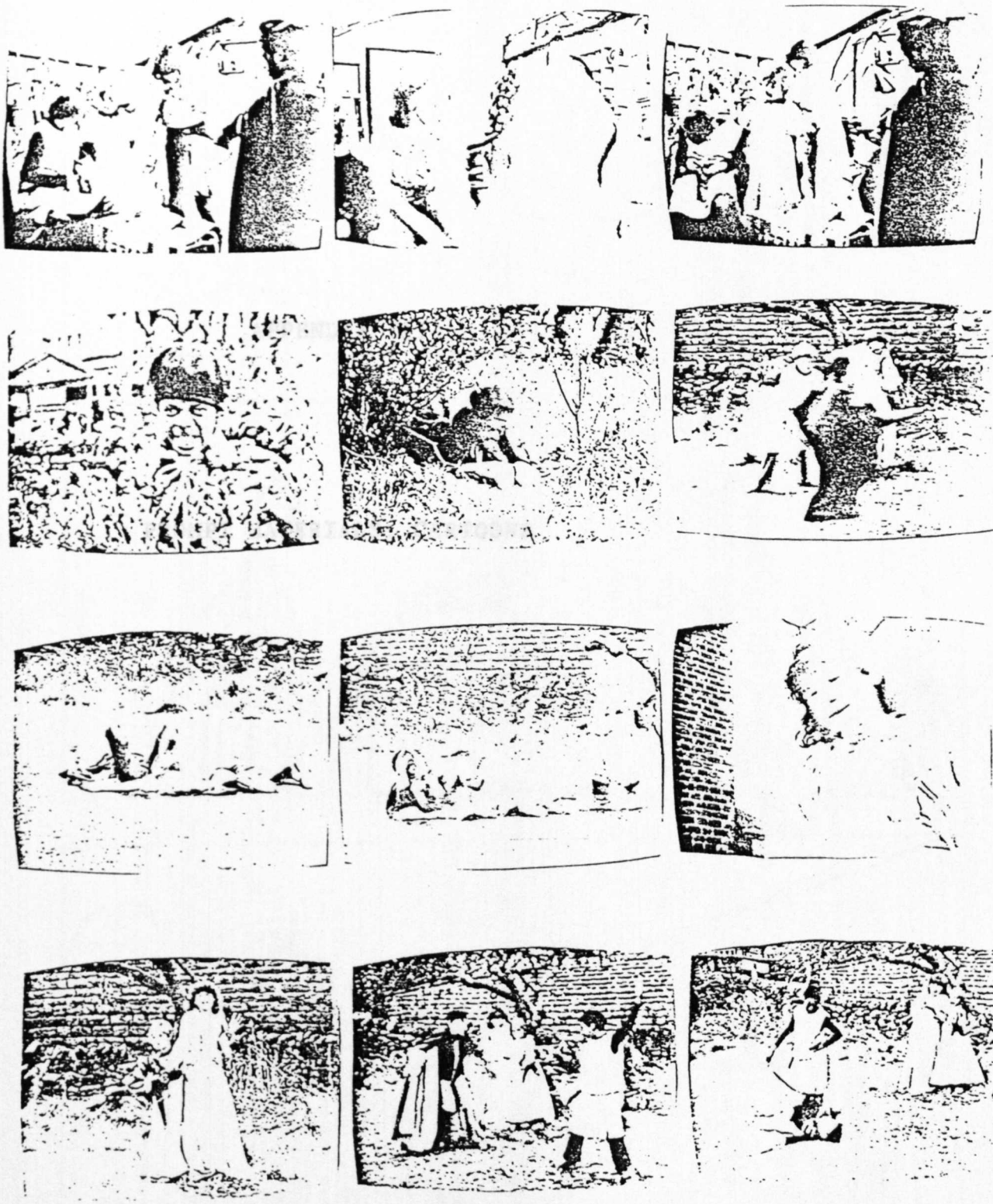
She found that although the differences between the different methods was not significant

statistically, taking the average of three frequencies provided the highest correlations. This method has been adopted in much of the research into the language of deaf children and for that reason I too have used the same method in this study. There is rather a lot of confusion about the issue of accounting for variance in audiograms (Griffiths, p54) which will be of interest to teachers of the deaf but which is not discussed in my own study.

APPENDIX II

PROMPT MATERIALS: PHOTOGRAPHS

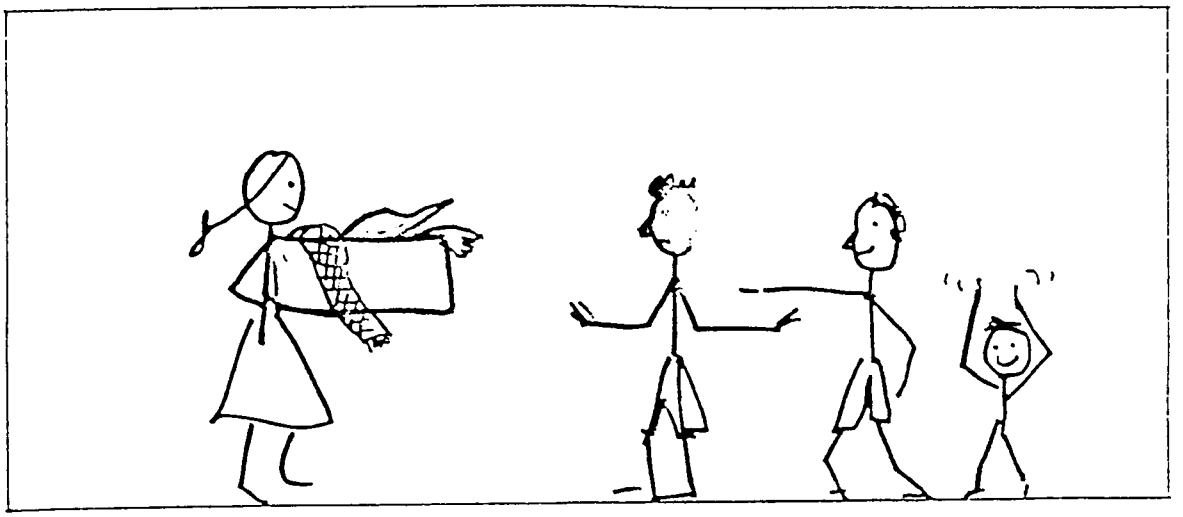
APPENDIX II

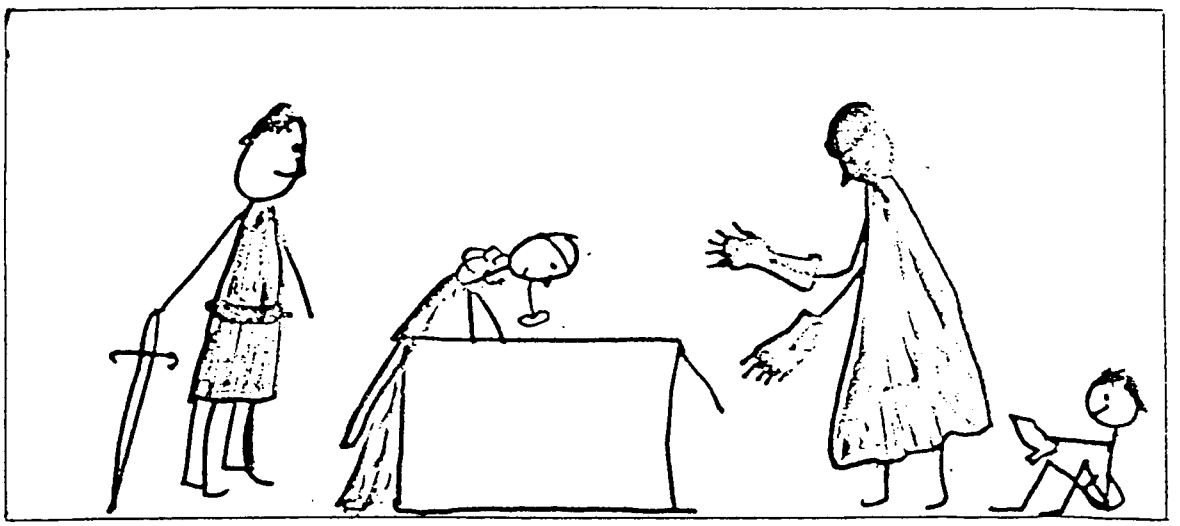


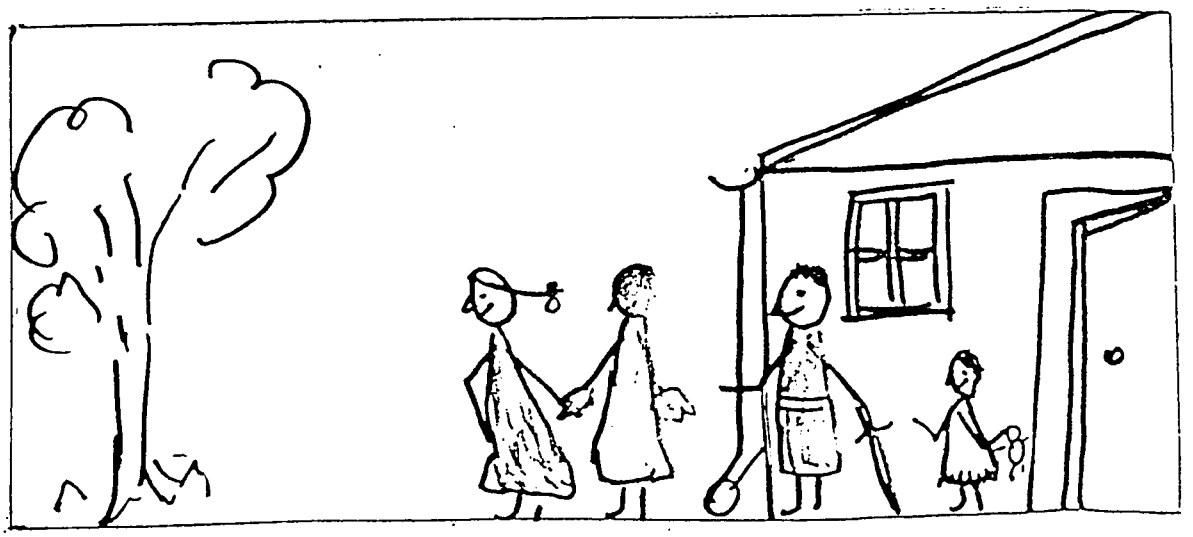
APPENDIX III

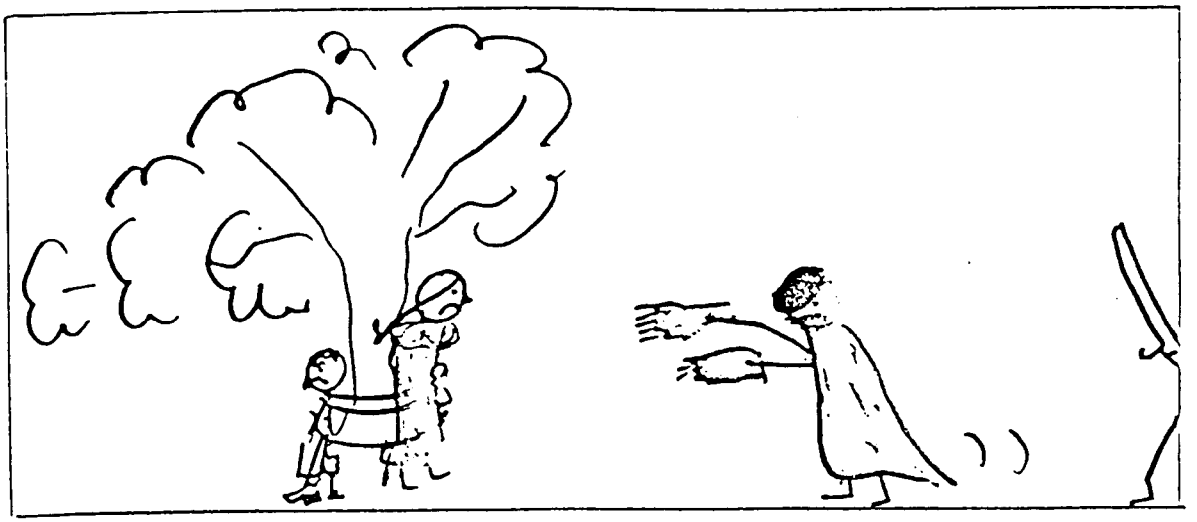
PROMPT MATERIALS: CARTOONS

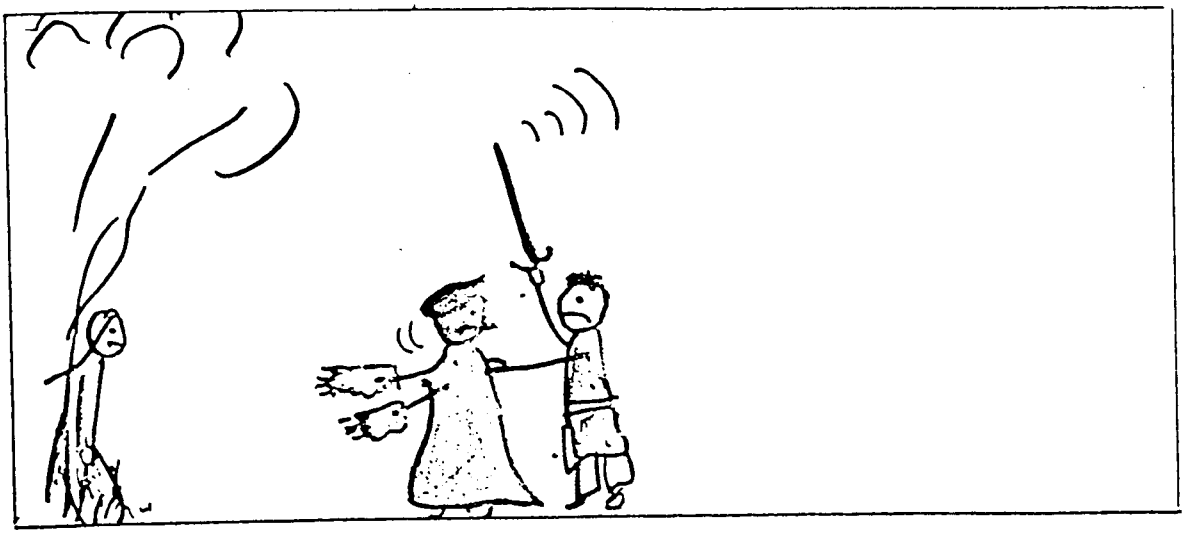
APPENDIX III

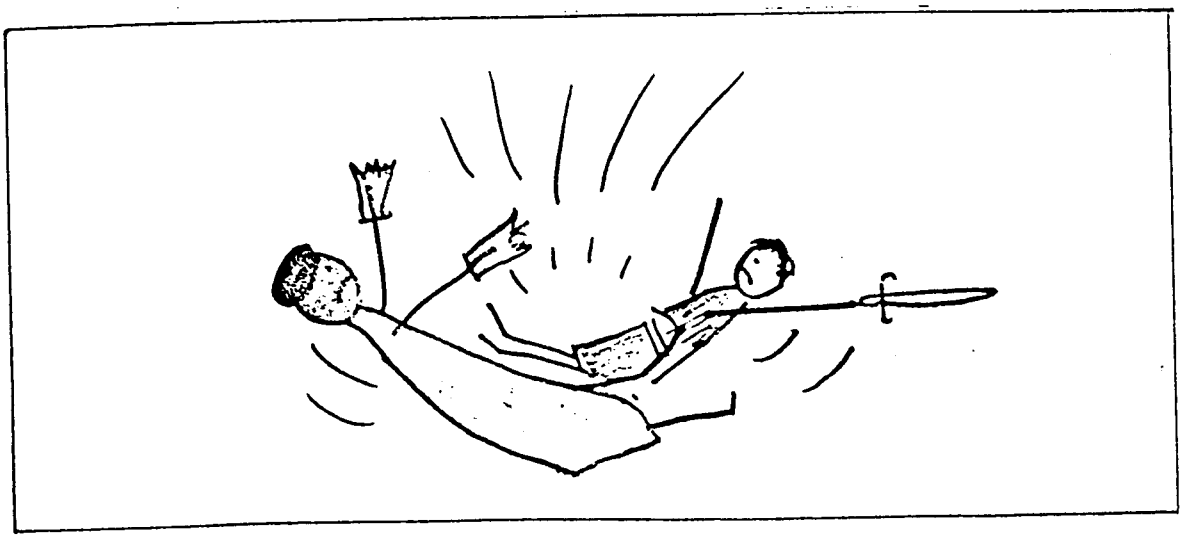


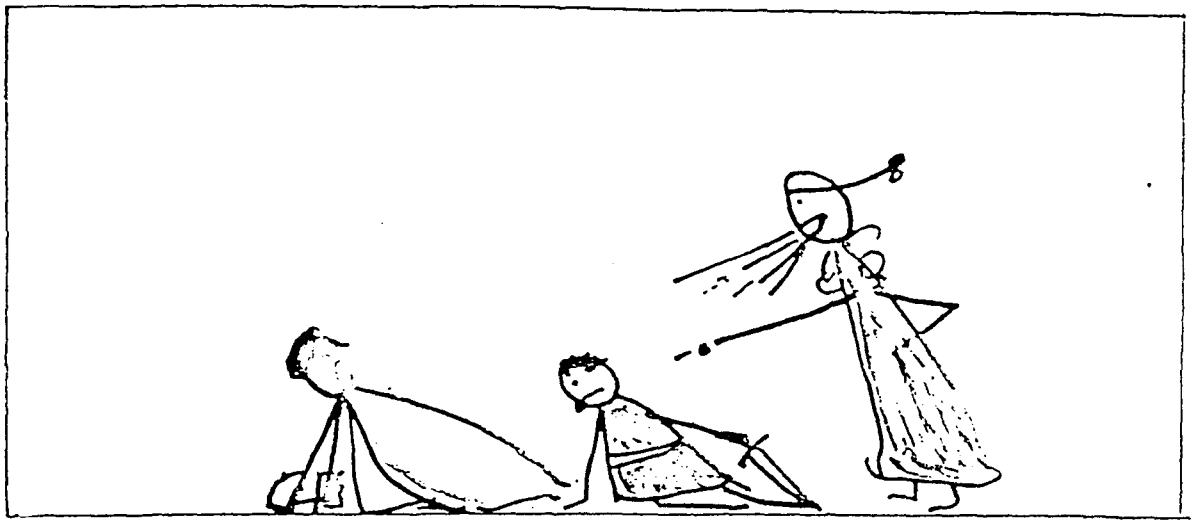


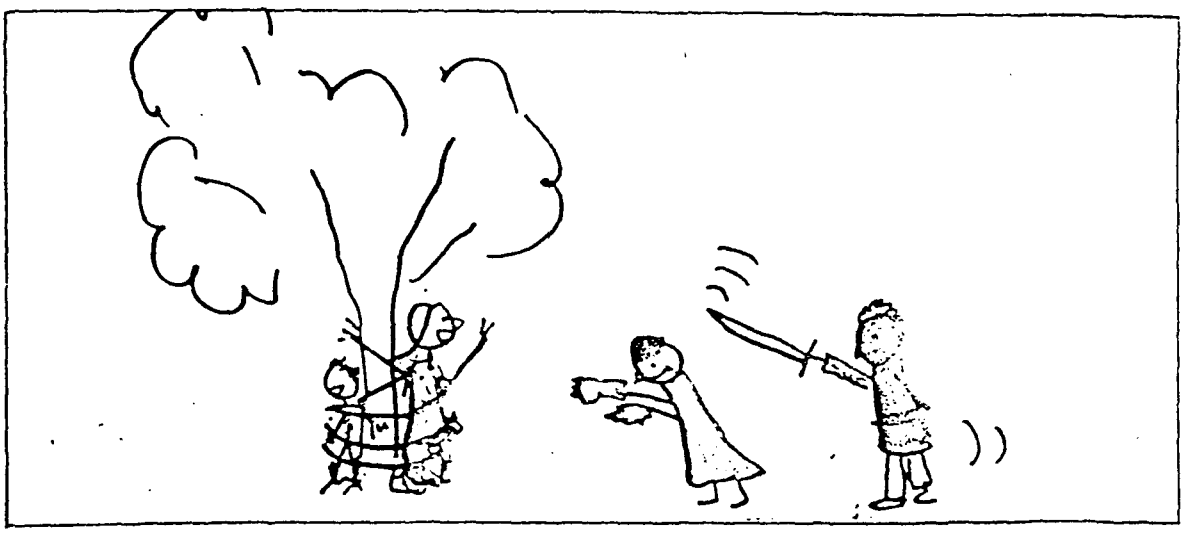


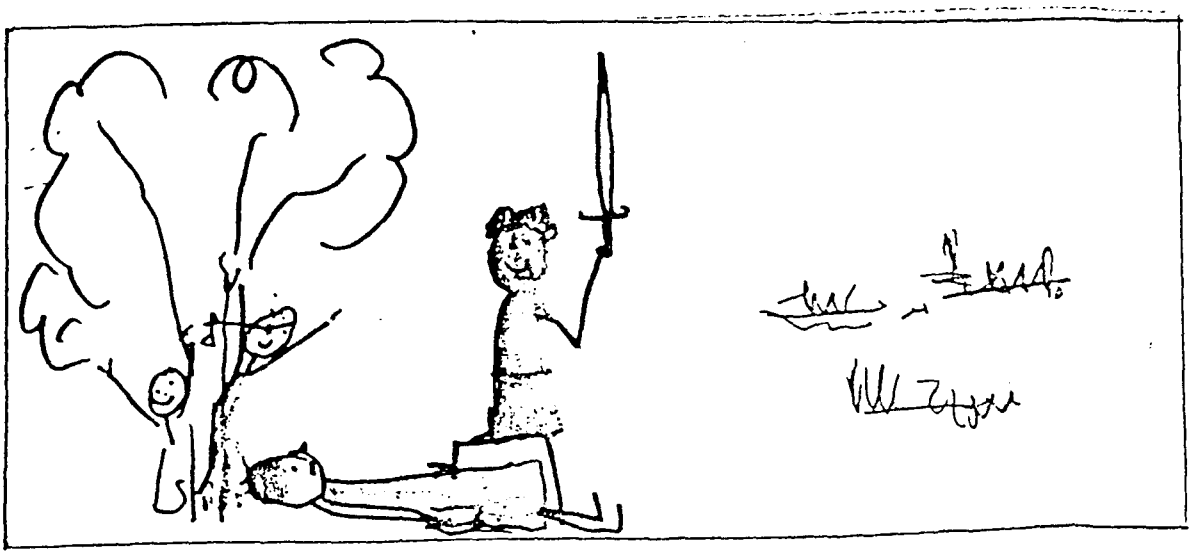








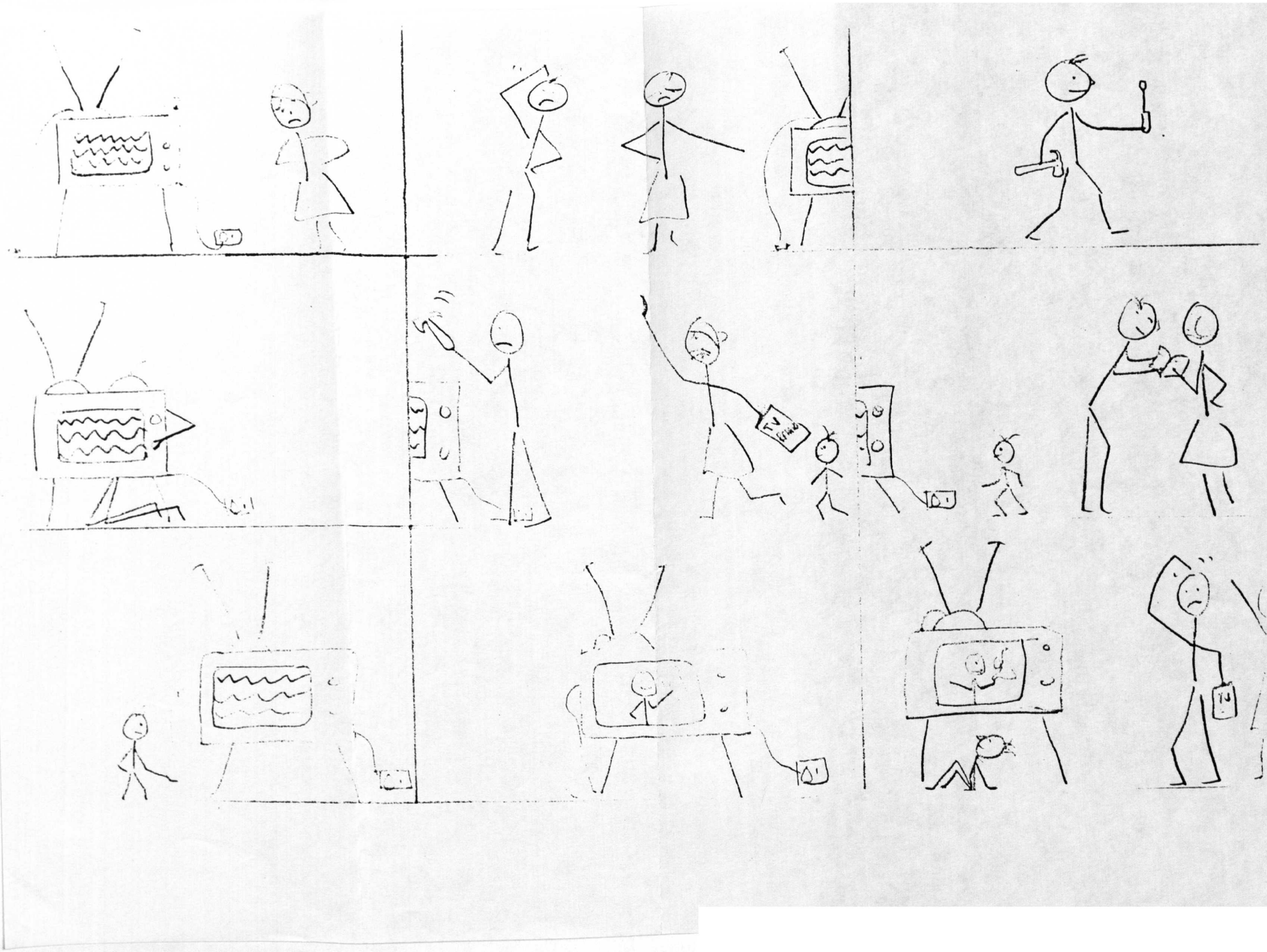




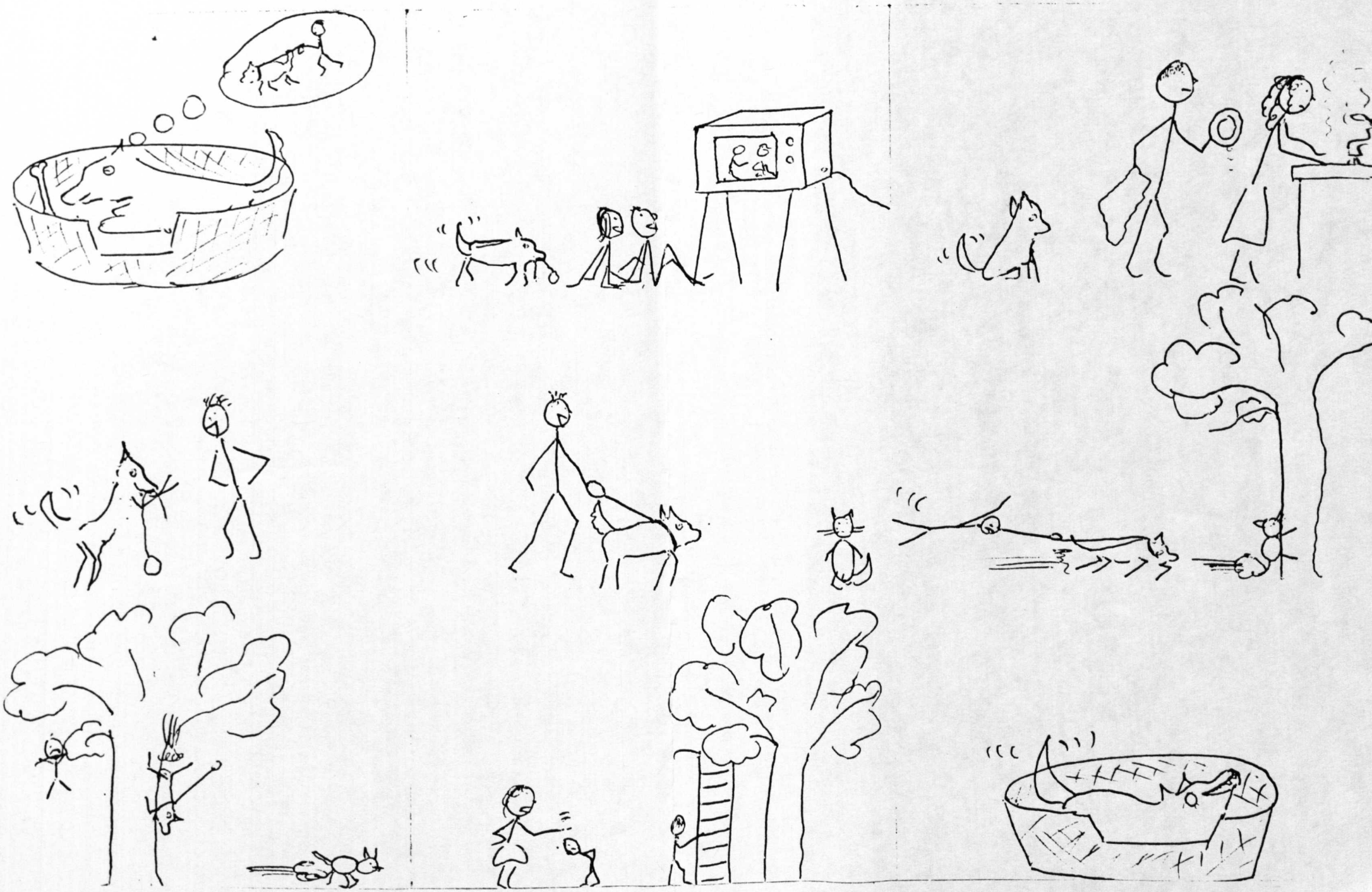
APPENDIX IV

PROMPT MATERIALS: CHAPTER SIX

STORY ONE



STORY TWO



APPENDIX V

PERFORMANCE PROTOCOLS FOR CHAPTER SIX

APPENDIX

PERFORMANCE PROTOCOLS FOR CHAPTER SIX

Performance One Deaf child: Average= 108dB

Mother look television / nothing open think broken / I tell father / mother please mend it television please / oh dear cant mend television mend I can't I'm sorry / right you must mend you mend / go father with screwdriver and hammer / go there / think television broken / [continued in mime and sign only] / finished.

Performance Two Hearing child

There was once a dog want go for walks / tried a girl and a boy / but they was watching television / and then he went to the kitchen / and tried the mother and the dad / but they was washing up / then he went out / and saw a lad / he took the dog for a walk / dog saw the cat / chased it / went up the tree / dog followed it / the cat come back down / the dog come down / the boy got stuck up the tree / his mam came with ladder / and his brother / his mam smacked him on the head / telling him off / they all got his ladder back down / the dog was back into his bed.

Performance Three Deaf child :Average loss= 58dB

The lady saw the television is breaking / the lady tell father / father say oh dear the television it was broke / father was fetch hammer any making / father get now mending the television / it can't make better television / father want hit the television / mother says stop please stop it / have a look the boy / boy follow / the boy was look at the television / the man was talking mother because he want learn mending the television / have a look the boy little boy was television at mending / the boy is mended the television / now is better / now the boy watch television / mother and father how do you get make better.

Performance Four Hearing child

The dog is dreaming that his owner is taking him for a walk / so the dog goes to get the lead / and asks the owner to take him for a walk / and then the owner goes up to his wife / and tells her that he's taking the dog for a walk / and they go in a field / and the dog sees a cat / so the dog runs after the cat / pulling the owner along with him / the cat goes up a tree / and the dog follows it / and the owner gets stuck up the tree / then the owner is looking up the tree for the thingy / and the woman smacking her child / and then the dog is asleep at home in his basket.

Performance Five Deaf child: Average loss= 53dB

One even in Saturday Grandma Marie is put the television on to watch 'Jaws' / that's her favourite programme / she switched it on / then it was on the 'Jaws' starting on / suddenly it went wrong again like last week / so she went phone to the TV mender / and the TV mender said I will be here in five minutes / he came at the door / and Grandma said come in / he had a look at the television / and she was a bit little bit angry / and he said er I'm just going into my car to fetch my spanner and hammer / so he went to his car to get his spanner and hammer / when he got there the television started to mend it half an hour / but nothing came happened / so suddenly he tried break the tele when he was getting mad / Grandma Marie said stop a minute I've got a book called TV book about it / and he stopped / and then while they were looking at the book Grandma looked Grandma and the TV man see her talking / the little boy went to the television / and look around / he thinking / he got the aerial / and put it on / and the television was right / he saw a big mouth of Jaws starting open / he was frightened / then the man said oh you're very clever / and Grandma said you're very brave boy in the whole world.

Performance Six Hearing child

There was a dog in a basket / he wanted to go for a walk / so he took the lead to the children / and the children were watching tele / so he took the lead to the parents / and the parents were washing up / so he took the lead back to the children / the boy took him for a walk / and as they were out walking the dog saw a cat / and he chased the cat up the tree / and then the dog went up the tree / the boy went up the tree with the dog pulling him they got stuck in the tree / so his parents had to come out and look for him and they got the ladder / and the boy was told off by his mother and the dog was taken home and put back in his basket.

PAGE NUMBERING AS ORIGINAL

STORY ONE

Story of Snow White and Seven Dwarves / once upon a time long ago the Queen lived in a castle and sewed / what is square? / sewing tapestry / she pricked her finger and bleeding / the Queen wish have a baby called Snow White / she has long black hair red lips and white skin / when she born baby she died and when she grow up he married a queen / and she is very vain / Snow White don't like her / Snow White go play outside / Queen said mirror mirror on wall who is fairest of them all / mirror replied / you are the fairest of them all / Queen very very pleased / Queen tell mirror again mirror mirror on wall who is fairest of all / the mirror said you are fairest but Snow White is very fairest / Queen was very angry want tell her hunter / so she tell hunter put her in dark place in forest please / hunter said yes / hunter said to Snow White I will kill you / Snow White said no please don't kill me I run away / hunter said alright and hunter like her very much / and he take her long way far away / and she saw little cottage / and walked to / had a look / very tiny / and eating and sleep / when seven dwarves came home and they saw Snow White and saw the food / who had

been eating my food said the seven dwarves / and went back and saw the beautiful girl who sleep in there / they very happy and felt sleep / in the morning Snow White woke up and saw the seven dwarves and said hello / the seven dwarves very frightened of them / don't afraid my name is Snow White / I live in castle and run run very far away / prickle and hurt / the seven dwarves said would you like live with me / oh yes / I will cleaning these / make the food when you come home / so the Queen asked mirror / mirror mirror on the wall who is the fairest of all / the mirror said that / no Snow White is alive / she live with seven dwarves in the cottage / the Queen very angry / she think have a comb / poison comb / and pouring poison on comb / and she bag / and changing / walk to the cottage and knock knock the door / the Snow White said who are you / I am the old lady / would you like put on hair / no go away / then you beautiful hair / you never brush your hair / yes come on and open the door and put it and fainted / so the seven dwarves came in / so the Queen ran away and laughing / seven dwarves came home saw the Queen run away / huury up Snow White fainted / knew the poison / maybe she died / she didn't / medicine better / much better now / seven dwarves helped Snow White / I don't I can't remember / seven dwarves said stay there we going back to work bye / walk long way back again / then Queen said again / mirror mirror on the wall who

is the fairest of all / no mirror said Snow White is still alive / she live with seven dwarves again / she is not dead / the Queen angry really angry / she think she had an idea / an apple poison / pouring the red one poison / green not one poison / put in the bag / cover on one / then she changed into another old lady / she walk walk to the forest / the animals don't know her / who is there / walk to the cottage and knock knock on the door / snow white said / who are you / I am the farmer's wife / I want you would bite the apple / no go away / I don't like apple / Snow White said you bite the apple / green one / half red one for her / she fainted / dead she dead / seven dwarves came home saw her dead / they very sad go to the grave / in the winter she is not alive / the spring spring / the spring / the leaves falling down / prince of king walked around / Snow White is dead / prince kissed her / she is alive / very happy / love with her / want marry her / then went to the castle / marry her and the Queen dead.

STORY TWO

The story of Goldilocks and three bears / now a long time ago three bears who lived in cottage / one big father / one mother and one little baby / mother

cooked for them porridge for breakfast / and up and come down and smelling porridge lovely ooh / mother pour / father pour / baby and taste / oh hot / mother said go for walk for a little while in forest far away / Goldilocks came in the cottage / she shout hello everybody my name is Goldilocks / but she look in nobody there / she saw the porridge / smell very nice / so she taste / oh hot / she eat mother's / lumpy and too much sugar / then she eat baby's / oh that's lovely / eat it all up / then she leave it the bowl / then she feel very tired / she sit father's chair very hard / then mother's chair too soft / sit on baby chair it broke / she feel very very sorry / she feel very tired / went upstairs and she sit father's bed too hard / mother's bed too soft and she sit baby bear's alright / fell asleep / baby bear she pick flowers and walk happy to cottage and saw who open the door / who been eating my porridge say angry father / mother bear say who eating my porridge angry / and baby said cry who been eating my porridge / father sit chair / said who sit my hard chair / mother said who sit my soft chair / and baby bear said my chair broken who sit down / and said have a look upstairs / banging foot / and who sit in my hard bed said father / and mother said who sit in my soft bed / and baby said look the girl who sleep in my bed / and Goldilocks wake up / and Goldilocks frightened of bears and run away down the forest to far

away / father said you are very naughty girl you eating my son porridge and chair break it and never come here again / and she mend chair and more porridge / leave cool / it's alright.

STORY THREE

THE STORY OF THE THREE LITTLE PIGS

Now long time ago the one mother pig said to the three little pigs you must leave us now / look at three little pigs very sad because mother said you are very big for no room / and pigs cake here you are bye / then kissed them / then walked long long way away / then first pig asked straw man please will I have buy straw / man said why / because will make a house / alright here you are / thankyou bye / walk long long way away / then pigs help first to make the house very nice / then walk walk walk long long way / about two mile from there / now second pig saw man taking sticks on the donkey on top / and man took sticks cut cut / and second pig saw / ask man would you give me sticks / stick man why / pig said because I had no home / stick man said alright here you are / thankyou and walk a long / third pig help him walk a long / make beautiful / near trees over top / and were friend sqirrel and

mice / the bye and walk a long long way / and last pig saw brick man / and brick man bricking / pig asked him I have bricks / brick man said why / pig said because I have no home / man said you must help me build house and I will give you bricks / help must and finish / so one day very happy and make very hard house / inside very hungry and warm by the fire lovely / now sunset / now the bad wolf smell the pig / I want for dinner / I'm very hungry / now walk along / walk along and saw pig ahh / wolf knock on the door / wolf said can I see you / pig said no you can't come in / by chin chin chin chin chin chin I'll puff blow puff puff fall down that's why / ate first pig ate inside / I go / I full / walk walk long way / saw second pig hurray / knock on door / pig woke up / oh dear who are you / I am wolf can I come indoor / said no can't come in / by chin chin chin / then wolf said I will blow puff / sticks fall down / pig frightened help help run away / wolf capture then swallow one gulp inside tummy / then walk walk full walk walk walk / brick house / whose there / I think pig maybe / walk saw no / knock on the door / pig sleep / oh dear this time very late / got up walk / saw wolf / no you can't come in / chin chin chin / then I'll puff you blow blow / he can't / again very hard blow blow and fainted / pig ha ha laughed / wolf fall / then one time about morning / get up morning / wolf said will you pick apples from farmers tree at six o

clock this evening / said alright bye / wolf said he he he he he / went away / pig open door very early five o clock / went running running running / picked apples / saw wolf came / you ha ha / climb tree / pig drop apple on floor / wolf rush after apple / pig ran away / pig back door closed / bang bang / hat down / jump jump / then again after one week wolf came / said you must go farmer cabbage cabbage in six o clock / pig said yes / then when five o clock went / shh pick pick / walk walk walk back to house inside / pig peeling / wolf very cross / then after it is goose fair / you come with us to go to the fair at six o clock / he said yes / then morning / eat then later it's six o clock / hurray go to fair / walk walk walk to fair / on roundabout / went round round round / and lots of people / pig / walk walk walk / saw wolf and so pig in barrell / the wolf ran up / barrell knocked wolf over / wolf fell bump / pig run in close door / pig save barrell for butter / wolf I'm thinking what shall I do then night time / then got up / wolf has an idea / wolf up on the roof / looking alright / pig heard noise / then takes move pot of black / then pouring hot water / fire burn / ow help plop splash / died dead / pig hurray / very happy / then the my house is best / won't be knocked down / the soup / then pig lived happily for ever.

STORY FOUR

THE LITTLE MERMAID

Now once long long long time ago the little mermaid have six sisters / and the king have daughters / and the queen is very nice / now the little mermaid swam lovely sea / brush hair every time then swam / no legs have a tail / have a body with up the hair with flower on top / on night time she heard the boat / prince's birthday / firework boom / little mermaid saw / frightened / don't know who / swam down to the home / a few years later she saw the boat crash / she found and save prince / swam to the land / sand / go home / in morning then she swam / saw the three little girls / I think he was a father / they was crying / he was not dead / don't know who it is / she little mermaid she swam down to grandma / I want marry to the prince grandma / no you have no legs I'm sorry / you must see the witch mermaid / little mermaid under swam / hello what you want / I want marry the prince / that's alright / you must drink the magic drink / you never talk without voice / you'll hurt feets when night time / I'm very sorry without tail and you have legs / and boom / little prince saw the beautiful and wrapped the clothes / then a man showed her to the change / change dancing dress / the prince don't know who is she / then

dance / happy / without voice / she love dancing / then prince to went to the hall for a sleep / then he and the little mermaid walked on the beach / who saved my life / the princess know isn't tell him / who saved my life / walk the prince now want marry / at night time her feet hurts / in the sea wipe saw six sisters / where have you been / I have been in without tail / I have no voice / walk walk / marry but the little mermaid don't want marry him / she had a broken heart / the curtain was made the white clothes / the walk and happy / the prince said my wife and I will on the boat / hooray / then the wife do not want on the boat / sail / boom / then the prince love other woman / oh / in the water / please you kill the prince with the knife / picked it and dropped it and love kissed him / the mermaid sail from the sea / the little mermaid flew the prince and his new wife saw sad a little girl want marry and love / yes the little mermaid / I think so / flew happy forever.

STORY FIVE

JACK AND THE BEANSTALK

Now long time ago Jack and his mother have no money / she's very poor / Jack have one cow / she is very good / gives her milk / Then Jack's mother wanted him to go to get more money for tea / Jack go to town / walk long long long long way / ask old man will you give me money for cow / oh yes I will give you magic beans / those will be very good / oh thank you / run home / mum here you are the beans / mother angry / throw away rubbish from the window on floor / go to bed you'll have no tea / go to sleep / heard boom from beanstalk / very long long beanstalk / Jack woke up / he can't believe it / very long long way up / please mother can I go up / I want see what is it / alright then / be careful don't fall / so he climb climb climb climb up two miles / then saw castle / very very very very big giant castle / haven't seen before / walk / hear / saw wife / stamp stamp stamp / hello who are you / I am Jack / what / I am Jack / oh / give tiny table tiny chair / give food half a pea / half lemonade / no one drop one drop / very hungry / full / heard husband / boom boom / I smell the children / that's nothing for you / I will give you food / Jug plonk / that is Jack's daddy's that the giant stole it / then he saw giant

fall to sleep / Jack run away / carry / then run away down down / give mummy / very please / I want to go / what is it / It's giant has castle / oh very good / climb again / climb climb climb / Jack ask giant's wife please I want to come in / giant'S wife said no can't come in / alright then I'll help you / come walk in / give little food / then heard giant / giant's wife heard her husband say fe fi fo fum I smell a child / there's nothing there for you / I'll give you food / then give Jack very very big and small very tiny / then wife help dry / then Jack saw giant's wife's husband's bag of gold / that is from my father / it is himself / run run down give mummy / that is of my husband's said Jack's mother very pleased / he climbed again / giant's wife angry / no I don't want you to come in again / Jack said please I want to help you / she said alright then be careful / give food / finish / dry pots / tiny pots / then Jack heard her husband came / very loud / then said / I can smell a child / there is nothing for you said giant's wife / I will give you food for you / food , the sleep / beautiful harp / Jack said magic talking harp that came from my daddy / he stole it / ran away / he heard harp / help help help help / giant heard / Jack down down down down / mummy quickly cut off / running careful / falling beanstalk / he was save / very happy / daddy Jack and mummy very happy / lots of money for ever.

STORY SIX

CINDERELLA

Long time ago the girl called Cinderella who clean the house / tall house / for two ugly sisters / sat chair / and Cinderella dried the pots / washed and cleaning all the time / then thre two ugly sisters said you must fetch my dressing gown / alright then ran quickly / brought / gave / nighties on the bed / go to sleep / then Cinderella woke up very early / walk / open the door / closed the door / walk and fetch post / letter / and gave to ugly sisters / closed door and walk upstairs / knock on the door / yes come in / here you are / oh yes / open / to sisters / you can come to my house for a party seven o clock to twelve o clock / and you must bring beautiful clothes for a ball / dancing / signed from the prince / hurray they are very happy / tonight gone dancing / then soon it is night time / Cinderella is upset / walk walk walk gave ugly sisters put on beautiful dress / the other as well / then two ugly sisters walk walk walk / open door / close door / inside coach / ride to the ballroom / and Cinderella crying crying / then fairy godmother came in / what's matter with you Cinderella / I know I am godmother and I and godmother says whats matter with you / I want go to the ballroom please / alright you must bring first pumpkin / yes can got pumpkin and

gave to godmother / yes now I want you fetch two lizards / ran fetch found it / walk walk put in down / said good / she said I want rat driver / looking hole / creep / looking / got it / hold it / put down / you must have beautiful dress / wave wave / ping pong poo / beautiful and beautiful slippers / nice and fairy poo / two lizards change to men / the rat fairy poo / change to boss ride drive / horses and six little mice from floor running away / thought about the change / poo / six horses / then fairy poo / pumpkin big coach / beautiful round / bye fairy / wait / you must remember come home twelve o clock midnight or change or clothes will again / right bye / drove drove drove long way and stop / out walk walk and prince saw / ask dancing / round and dancing / and two ugly sisters not fair / horrible / I want with him / I'm ugly / and carried on dancing / and saw two ugly sisters / saw / round then stop / eat food / then dancing / walk / twelve o clock midnight / nearly / running down stairs / prince said where is Cinderella / dropped slipper / slipper left stairs on top / running away change clothes / pumpkin changed pumpkin changed / coach changed / lizards / one big coach / changed mouse six horses changed / mice run after pumpkin / then ran / prince found glass / who I don't know who / leave there then walk walk walk / and saw / don't know leave there / walk walk walk walk to upstairs / to bed tired / go to sleep / Cinderella gone

home / ugly sisters gone to home / Cinderella pretends sleep / then two ugly sisters it's not fair / beautiful lady / I'm not going now / wake Cinderella / walk changed dress / go back bed / fast sleep on the floor in living room hard floor / big near the fire / next morning two ugly sisters heard knock knock / came down the street / gave the beautiful shoes / can't fit / not there / not there / not there / prince don't know who / the walk to two ugly sister's house and Cinderella's house too / move stop look posh / knock knock / then Cinderella open the door / come in / close / prince walk / put on ugly sister too big / very tiny / fainted / then other ugly sister then put it on / too small / cry / then Cinderella said can I try / prince said no then alright / then oh yes it fit / marry prince next week / a few later / walk marry walked / then the ugly sisters died / then marry live in castle with king.

STORY SEVEN

A TRIP TO LONDON

A few week ago I went with guides to London and went train / train long long way / then stop at London / saw lot of big houses / got out close the door / Jenny said you must line / walk walk to underground / walk walk step step / I don't like underground too dark / I'm frightened / I didn't want get lost / then walk

and waited waited in the line corner / mum said wait there / Jenny and Aunty Jennifer went to get tickets / then lots lots lots of people / no room crowded bottom / at top alright but bottom lots / then waited at the line / see the ticket / I don't know how much / perhaps ninety five p / come in go round it won't get lost / it's easier / then go the ticket it's long / then go very quickly / very high step very / not left only right / not left down down / look at the picture bit sideways / can't move can't move / picture picture funny side / walk quickly not in line dangerous / waited see a horrible noise / door open people goes in very quickly / closed the the door / (phew) it's safe (phew) / dark tunnel long long long long long / waited fed up / feel hot hot / fast then stop no / going to Victoria / then (broom) stop no Park Green / (broom) stop Victoria yes / stop get door open other side get out out out closed / run off / walk / outside bright / bright my eyes / inside it's dark no window / funny / then walk walk walk Buckingham Palace / but first we go to shop buy / I bought one pencil and pen about forty p I can't remember / walk Jenny said together / upstairs saw the lift / walk toilet lot of soap / that where brownies and guide sleep in there / walk downstairs down down down / can't go lift too small no room / walk outside lot / we went to Buckingham Palace / I've been there / see big big palace / I think four guards march

together then go back again / stayed there for whole night / so funny / Jenny said take coat off and put hat on / we do the promise circle / the I said the promise / she gave the badge / for my badge finish / put coat on / put hat on if you want or put in pocket / walk dangerous road / look look walk / off walk past James Park / walk don't want go to the long way go to shorter way round / saw the grass lot of duck and birds walk / the sit four seats five each / sat ate drink then going to Lord Nelson statues Lord Nelson / walk look the road / then go to square / square walk / see very tall very tall / long time ago live in London / then walk climb not very tall / jump jump sat / everyone together / I'm frightened jump careful / Elizabeth helped me down then walk walk / Jenny said do you want to the gallery over there square / walk walk look the road / then walk to traffic light / then walk to open the door / closed the door / the man said can I look your bag / make sure no bomb or no bomb / I didn't then crazy / bomb I never put in bag / children never bombs / waited for everybody bag / make sure men look are in / me alright / walk saw already head chop off no / a man soon ready drop the rope / saw the animal very famous g s and we finish / rain rain outside put hood up and fasten the coat / then walk down down on the pavement / look at the traffic / walk on the road / again other traffic / walk / my leg hurt long long long long long way / walk

walk long way / Jenny said hurry up the sweet shop / buy I can't remember buy / I forgot again / ah sherbet drop / walk walk long long to the church / what name / oh Westminster Cathedral church / walk quickly then water on / money in for candle pray / lot walk / look / very big / the walk to another church / not pray / long time ago / walk have a look / beautiful wall inside / it's brass rubbing brass rubbing / look / lady said it's free / alright rubbing / my friend rubbing / late walk / Jenny said go back to the train / very quickly then walk walk walk walk walk to the train / oh first we went to Downing Street where Mrs Thatcher live / we're not go in police said no / IRA tried kill Mrs Thatcher / the wall round her house / see the black door number ten / see very good / walk walk / lot of people photo photo in there / down there newspaper photo / I want drink mummy said yes / no more / then my sister want one / walk to the traffic light / down went to the undreground (broom) / very fast fast fast / stop in where / ah St Pancras station / then got out / walk quickly quickly / waited / too early / we waited half past six / waited then played trolley with Gemma, Carla , Geraldine and Rachel / don't move alright / hear the train / we guide running fast / carry bag heavy / lot people running fast / we guide run faster / went in (phew) / second class not first class second class near buffet / then sit rest / my foot hurt take shoe off /

have a tea / hurt / want drink again / very thirsty / only little lemonade / not very thirsty / then watch the window / want two coke please / two can half each / go to toilet with Angela / horrible dirty messy / sit on it / flush it on the floor / open the door let other person in / the door open / jumped me / thought hand open but it isn't / then I want go to toilet / wait for it long time who is it / then I went toilet other side / finish / I didn't want wash it / dirty / won't work / funny / before I was train it worked / the train wobbly / then Angela and I went to buffet / a man said what you want / we want two can of coke / Angela carry two can of coke with three cup / I hold the money then walk / mummy opened it and poured / gave Carla Gina Lorna me Angela / maybe only bit left pour / the train near Nottingham / yes near Nottingham / then we carried the bag / got out / drove long long long way home / I feel tired / go to bed.